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Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia

Illustration

Likeness and Fac-simile Autograph of Dr. John Fothergill,
facing page 3

Contents

| | |
|---|--------|
| Introduction, <i>by Isaac Sharpless,</i> | Page 1 |
| An International Chess Party, <i>by Amelia M. Gummere,</i> | " 3 |
| Progress of the Temperance Cause among Friends of Philadelphia, <i>by Joshua L. Baily,</i> | " 23 |
| Notes, | " 35 |
| Constitution and By-Laws, | " 38 |
| Officers and List of Members, | " 41 |

A copy of this Bulletin is furnished gratuitously to each member.
Additional copies at 30 cents each. Postpaid 35 cents each.

Introductory.

The Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia herewith issues its first bulletin. It is not proposed at present that other numbers should follow at regular periods, but that when the finances of the Society permit, new issues shall appear. There does not seem to be any lack of material. It would be very possible to have a quarterly or even a monthly journal if the means were at hand to edit and to publish it. The existence of the Society has brought to light a number of interesting manuscripts and has set people to work delving for more. We would invite such students to forward what they have to the Secretary of the Society, even if their contributions should be simply small notes, or hitherto unknown facts of the length of a paragraph. We do not wish to

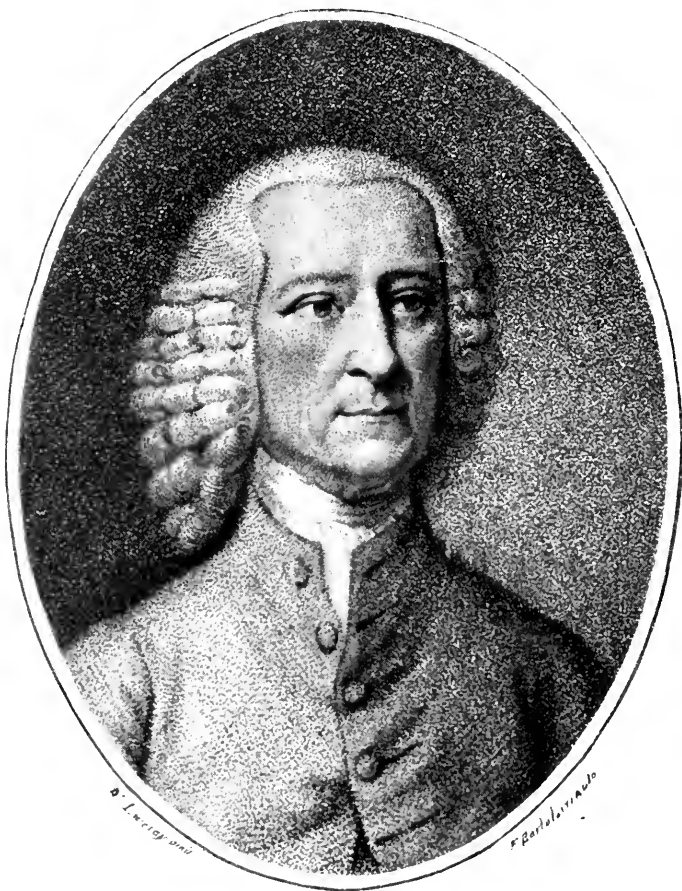
fill our pages with matter that has already been printed in a satisfactory form ; but we should like to make them a depository of new material or of new and fresh presentations of old material which is not accessible. We should wish also to stimulate in the minds of the readers a knowledge of the importance of historical facts to coming generations ; to induce Clerks of Meetings to write their minutes in such a way as will convey an intelligible idea of the subject under consideration ; to prevent the destruction of old letters because they seem to the destroyer worthless. We should like also to encourage pilgrimages to historical centers, of which we have around Philadelphia a number whose interest and suggestiveness are very great. We should wish to coöperate with the Friends' Historical Society whose headquarters are in London, with the Pennsylvania Historical Society and with other historically inclined societies and individuals—not in a spirit of competition or rivalry, but to supplement their work. We feel that there are a number of sources open to us which might be closed to them, and it will be our endeavor, in a spirit of coöperation, to increase the general interest in and the profit of Quaker historical research.

For these purposes we invite the aid of many Friends. We should be glad to have our numbers swollen to a thousand or more. This would give us a fund which would enable us to procure an office and rooms in which we could keep our collections, and a paid secretary who would care for them, would visit various centers to advance our work, would edit our publications, receive financial and literary contributions, and be in general an efficient agent for the Society, always on hand and always interested. In this way the work would be prosecuted much more vigorously than at present. Indeed, it is the only way to create an efficient Society.

We print in this number the constitution and by-laws of the Society, with a list of its officers and members, and if these commend themselves to those who are not now members, we should be glad to have their names presented to an early meeting of the Council. All such communications should be sent to ALBERT T. BELL, Atlantic City, N. J. Our publications are sent free to all members of the Society.

ISAAC SHARPLESS,
President.

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thy assured Friend
John Fothergill.

An International Chess Party

By AMELIA M. GUMMERE.

THERE was recently to be seen on exhibition in Philadelphia, among relics belonging to Benjamin Franklin, gathered to celebrate the bicentennial of his birth, a silver cream pot of delicate workmanship, which is the memento of an international episode. The cup was made, we are told by experts in hall-marks, in 1765, by Smith and Sharp of London. Its marks are three ;—the initials $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} D. S. \\ R. S. \end{array} \right.$ in a framed, or shaped escutcheon, signifying Daniel Smith and Robert Sharp, makers, well known London silversmiths, still in business in 1791 ; a leopard's head, with the lion accompanying, mark of the Goldsmith's Company ; an old English or black-letter "A" the sign for the year 1765.* The cup is in the form of an egg, standing upon three claw-shaped feet, and truncated slightly above the centre to form the lid, which has an extension over the lip ; these together form the spout. A delicate knob on top lifts the lid. A very graceful handle is richly ornamented, and in front of this, partly upon the lid and partly upon the body of the cup, is engraved the chain of friendship, with the motto below "*Keep bright the Chain.*" This relic was presented by Dr. John Fothergill, scientist, philanthropist and Court physician, to Dr. Benjamin Franklin, upon the departure of the latter for America in 1775, after fruitless efforts upon the part of both to avert the American Revolution—efforts which it is the purpose of this paper to describe.

John Fothergill was the son of a Yorkshire Quaker of the same name, who was well-to-do, and gave his son a good education. He was born in 1711, five years later than Franklin, and took his Doctor's degree in medicine at Edinburgh, studying also in Paris and Leyden, cities at that time leading the world in the healing art. Distinguished for his ability, he came up to London in 1740, and almost at once became a leader in his profession,

*Another registered piece by Smith & Sharp of London, of 1761, is a silver basin or christening bowl owned by Mrs. Apthorp, of Cambridge, Massachusetts.

writing much upon medical and scientific subjects for some years. About fifty works and pamphlets testify to his industry, covering philosophical, scientific and philanthropic interests, as well as medicine. His essay on "*Ulcerated Sore Throat*," in 1748, first suggested the proper treatment of that scourge, diphtheria; it went into eight English editions, and was published in every European language. The pamphlet on "*Weather and Diseases*" (1751) sounds today very modern, and obtained much attention. Dr. Fothergill was a noted philanthropist, a friend of John Howard, and consulted by the great and wise of his day. Social questions much engaged his attention, and he was interested in public baths, schools, and the establishment of cemeteries instead of city grave-yards—an idea then quite in advance of the time. He was made Court physician, and died the year in which appeared anonymously his "*English Freeholder's Address to his Countrymen*."

The personal appearance of Dr. Fothergill must have been unique and interesting. We are to imagine a spare, rather attenuated man of medium height, sensitively organized, alert and quick in his movements, with a tendency to lean forward in walking. His eye was brilliant and expressive, and his face singularly mobile. While delicate in appearance, he was seldom ill. Fothergill wore the distinctive dress of the physician of his day, including a carefully curled and powdered wig with cocked hat and cane, and clothing which was very light in color, approaching a greyish white. Having once adopted this costume, he wore it to his dying day, "thinking it unworthy a man of sense," says his contemporary, Dr. Elliott, "and inconsistent with his character, to suffer himself to be led by the whim of fashion and become the slave of its caprices!" The good Doctor might have been seen any day driving about London in a great green coach, with horses sleek and fat, and with tails docked short, driven by a highly respectable coachman weighing no less than sixteen stone, or as we should translate it, two hundred and twenty-four pounds!

"They say" that a Quaker apothecary once meeting Dr. Fothergill, said to him, "Friend Fothergill, I intend dining with thee today." "I shall be glad to see thee," said the Doctor, "but hast thou not some joke?" "No joke at all," rejoined the apothecary, "but a serious matter. Thou hast attended Friend Ephraim these three days, and hast ordered him no medicine. I cannot,

at this rate, live in my own house, but must come to thine!" The Doctor took the hint and prescribed handsomely *for both!* He died the day after Christmas, 1780; more than seventy coaches and post-chaises attended his funeral at Winchmore Hill.

Dr. Fothergill's scientific mind seems to have been the first to appreciate the contribution to science made by the discoveries of Benjamin Franklin. The first suggestion of Franklin's philosophical investigations had come to him at Boston in 1746, through Dr. Spence, a Scotchman, who showed some imperfect electrical experiments. Soon after, upon Franklin's return to Philadelphia, his "Library Company" received from Peter Collinson, F. R. S., an eminent English scientist, a present of a "glass tube, with an account of its proper use in experiments." These Franklin eagerly undertook, adding those he had seen in Boston, and a number of his own; he was later assisted by Ebenezer Kinnersley, "an ingenious neighbor," who at one time taught at the new school established by Franklin, now the University of Pennsylvania, and who perfected the apparatus under the sage's direction.

Franklin sent back an account of these experiments to Peter Collinson, by whom the paper was read at a meeting of the Royal Society, where it was received with ridicule. A similar fate awaited his second paper, upon the identity of lightning and electricity. When these productions, however, were shown Dr. Fothergill, "he thought them," says Franklin, "of too much value to be stifled, and advised the printing of them." Peter Collinson gave them to Mr. Cave, Editor of the "Gentlemen's Magazine," for use in that periodical. He printed them however, in a separate pamphlet, and Dr. Fothergill wrote the preface.

"The experiments," says the doctor, "which our author relates are most of them peculiar to himself; they are conducted with judgment, and the inferences from them plain and conclusive; though sometimes purposed under the terms of suppositions and conjectures. And indeed the scene he opens strikes us with a pleasing astonishment, whilst he conducts us by a series of facts and judicious reflections, to a probable cause of these phenomena, which are at once the most awful, and hitherto accounted for with the least verisimilitude.

"From the similar effects of lightning and electricity, our author has been led to make some probable conjectures on the cause

of the former ; and at the same time to propose some rational experiments, in order to secure ourselves, and those things on which its force is often directed, from its pernicious effects ; a circumstance of no small importance to the publick, and therefore worthy of the utmost attention."

These papers obtained notice in France before they became popular in England, the great French savant, Buffon, being the means of their translation and wide circulation. "Philadelphia Experiments" at once became the rage in Paris, which later was to adore as statesman, him whom she was first to welcome as philosopher. Before he died, Franklin was to invent or anticipate almost everything connected with modern material progress. There was, however, one thing which he does not seem to have imagined,—possibly because this required a flight of the imagination into the realms of the ideal, and whatever else Franklin may have been, no one appears ever to have accused him of being an idealist, or able for a moment to escape from the grasp of the practical and commonplace. He never anticipated the motor car! Perhaps he realized that this had been done two thousand years before by the prophet Nahum, who wrote—

"The chariots shall rage in the streets ; they shall jostle one against another in the broad ways ; they shall seem like torches ; they shall run like the lightnings."—Nahum ii : 4.

Dr. Fothergill wrote from London to Israel Pemberton a prominent Quaker politician of Philadelphia, 8th. 7mo. 1755.

"I thought the latter part of thy letter, respecting the misinformation given to General Braddock, of so much consequence, that I put it in the hands of a Friend who will mention the purport of it to Lord Grenville, Lord Prest. of the Council, in a few days; and this, with some other circumstances of the like nature, will, I hope, dispose him to take such a part in the affair as may tend to the benefit of the colony, which must count in reconciling, if possible, the Proprietarys and Assembly. Should this prove impracticable, would it be amiss for the Assembly to depute one or two of their members to come over next winter and join with their Agents and Friends here in such a manner, as might be thought most agreeable and likely to be attended with success?"*

*Original in possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

Quite possibly this may have been the first suggestion for an American Agent.

In 1757, Franklin made his first visit to England, as agent for the Pennsylvania Assembly, to remonstrate with the Proprietaries against the exemption of their estates from equal taxation with the rest of the colony. He arrived in London July 27th. 1757. "As soon as I was settled in a lodging Mr. Charles had provided me," he writes in his Autobiography, "I went to visit Dr. Fothergill, to whom I was strongly recommended, and whose counsel respecting my proceedings I was strongly advised to obtain. He was against an immediate complaint to Government, and thought the Proprietaries should first be personally appli'd to, who might possibly be induc'd by the interposition and persuasion of some private friends, to accommodate matters amicably." But before anything could be undertaken, Dr. Franklin fell ill of an intermittent fever, and wrote his wife in Philadelphia that he was under Dr. Fothergill's care.

As soon as possible, Dr. Fothergill arranged for a meeting between Franklin and the Proprietaries, at the house of Thomas Penn in Spring Garden. The general conversation upon both sides seemed at first conciliatory, but more particular complaints soon appeared, offering little hope of an agreement. The statement which was drawn up by Franklin, and which he declined to discuss with any intermediary, lay for an entire year unanswered, when the Proprietaries sent a communication to the Pennsylvania Assembly, ignoring even the existence of Franklin, and requesting "some person of candor" to treat with them! Meantime, however, the Assembly had prevailed with Governor Denny to pass an act, taxing the Proprietary estates in common with those of the people, which was the ground of the dispute, and consequently that body omitted answering the message. When the text of that act arrived, however, the Proprietaries, taking counsel, determined to oppose its receiving the Royal assent, on the ground that the lowest taxable rate was not applicable to it.

The entire controversy with the Proprietaries lasted for a period of three years, and was not finally settled to the satisfaction of Franklin's constituents until June, 1760. He remained in England, occupied with the question even then of the annexation of Canada, the cultivation of proper sentiments toward America in Great Britain through the medium of the press, and with his

scientific interests and experiments—loath, we may infer, to leave an atmosphere so congenial to his tastes. Finally, however, he writes Lord Kames from Portsmouth—"I am now waiting here only for a wind to waft me to America." After an absence of five years, Franklin reached Philadelphia the first of November, 1762.

The following year, Governor John Penn succeeded Governor Hamilton. He recommended an offensive militia law, which the Assembly refused to pass, followed by a land tax, in which an ambiguity in the agreement obtained by Franklin when in England, caused the Governor to insist that proprietary lands, good or bad, were to be taxed at the lowest rates. When the Assembly, at its wits' end with Indian frontier disturbances, for peace's sake, passed this domineering act, no one suspected that the rebellion it was to engender would ultimately lead to the independence of the colonies. The Assembly resolved that peace and happiness, in view of so many arbitrary representatives of the proprietaries, could only come by lodging the Government of the province in the crown, and so expressed itself upon adjournment.

To these sentiments, only seven weeks later, several thousand citizens gave enthusiastic endorsement, and when the Assembly met again, a petition to the King to that effect was drawn up by Franklin, who was made speaker. Rumors were even then rife of obtaining revenue from stamp duties in the colonies, and a remonstrance against the scheme, and instructions to the agent of the colony in London, were signed by Franklin as his last act, while Speaker of the Assembly. So long before this as 1758, Franklin had written to Isaac Norris, then speaker,—“I should be glad to know your sentiments on the Point of Getting rid of the Proprietary Government, and whether you think it would be generally acceptable to the People?”* His Ms. “Memorial of the State of British Plantations” shows that as early as 1731, Franklin had considered the possibility of a separation from England.

Immediately upon convening, the Assembly of 1764 resolved to pursue the measures of the previous year, and at once appointed Franklin a special agent to England to petition for a change of Government, and to look after the interest of the colony in the crisis abroad. The merchants of the Province subscribed

*A. H. Smyth. Works of Franklin. III 455.

£11,000 in a few hours, upon the assurance that an appropriation should be made for the purpose in the next budget, and twelve days after, (November 7th. 1764) Franklin was on his way to England for the second time, escorted to Chester by three hundred of his fellow citizens.

This time when Franklin went abroad, he took with him some silk of Pennsylvania production, and on arriving after a tempestuous voyage of thirty days, he sent for Dr. Fothergill to join him in seeing the consignment opened, and in arranging for its disposal. They discovered that the valuers, after having opened the parcels to ascertain the bounty, had lost all the directions and marks, "so that we could not find," says Franklin, "which was intended for the Queen and which for the Proprietary family. Then, being no judges ourselves, we concluded to get Mr. Patterson, or some other skilful person, to come and pick out six pounds of the best for her Majesty, and four pounds for each of the other ladies." * * * Dr. Fothergill and myself are to write a joint letter to the committee. * * * I am charmed at the sight of such a quantity the second year, and have great hopes the produce will now be established. * * * Dr. Fothergill has a great number of Chinese drawings, which represent the process of raising silk from beginning to end. I am to call at his house and assist in looking them out, he intending to send them as a present to the silk company."*

The old intimacy with Dr. Fothergill was renewed, and Franklin threw himself ardently into the attempt to solve the American difficulties. In 1766 followed his famous examination before the House of Commons, relative to the repeal of the Stamp Act, then become a law—one of the greatest subjects for a painter in history. As a *sop* to America, Mr. Grenville invited the colonial agents in London to name such persons in the respective colonies as would be proper to act as Stamp distributors. Even the wary Dr. Franklin fell into the trap, naming his old friend, John Hughes, for Pennsylvania. His enemies at once proclaimed him as encouraging the offensive legislation, and a caricature of the period represents the Devil whispering in his ear, "Ben, you shall be my agent throughout my provinces!" So great was the uproar at home, that Mrs. Franklin was almost besieged in her

house in Philadelphia, but declined when advised to retreat for protection up the Delaware to Governor Franklin's house at Burlington, writing her husband—"I consented to Sally's going, but I will not stir, as I really don't think it would be right in me to show the least uneasiness at all." There is a parallel between England's proposition to the colonies in 1766, and that of M. de Calonne, twenty years later to the *Assemblée des Notables*, which a piquant contemporary caricature represented by the minister addressing a flock of turkeys—"Gentlemen, I have invited you to meet me to know with what sauce you would prefer to be eaten." "But we do not wish to be eaten", reply the honorable notables. "Gentlemen," retorts the minister, "you dodge the question!" Even the walrus and the carpenter might have been moved to tears at such a parallel!

An unpublished letter of Dr. Fothergill to James Pemberton of Philadelphia, from London, under date 2mo. 27, 1766, says: "Having just perused the translation of C. Krebs's letter relating to B. Franklin, and communicated it to H. Brown, that no opportunity may be lost of setting him in a just light with these people, be pleas'd to acquaint them for the present that from my own certain knowledge, I can safely aver that B. Franklin did all in his power to prevent the stamp act from passing; that he waited upon the ministry that then was to have (sic) informed them fully of its mischievous tendency, and that he has uniformly opposed it to the utmost of his ability; that in a long examination before the House of Commons, within these few weeks, he asserted the rights and privileges of America, with the utmost firmness, resolution and capacity.

I can further aver likewise, upon my own knowledge; that he diligently, steadily and judiciously pursued the business recommended to him when he came over as agent. And if he does not succeed in it, it will be more owing to the present unfavorable circumstances of the times, than the want of either application or address. He has been an able, useful advocate for America in General, and the Province of Pennsylvania in particular, during his stay here, and of this they will receive from many persons undoubted information as well as from thy assured friend,

J. FOTHERGILL." *

From this date, until his return to America in 1775, Franklin's efforts were untiring in behalf of his country's liberties. The bill for the repeal of the Stamp Act received Royal assent March 18th., 1766. Although it was followed by a Declaratory Act, offensive in principle as the first, affirming the right of Parliament to bind the colonies "in all cases whatsoever," nevertheless, the Americans were frantic with joy for a brief period, and Franklin was hailed at home and abroad with boundless enthusiasm.

Dr. Fothergill had written James Pemberton, a month earlier:
 "London, 25, 2 mo., 1766.

Dr. Franklin has served you ably and uprightly. * * *
 It is very probable that in the space of a week or ten days, the bill for repealing the stamp act will be pass'd in the House of Commons. I make no doubt but this intelligence from all your correspondents will diffuse universal satisfaction thro' the continent, but I must intreat thee & every person within the reach of thy influence to determine with the utmost steadiness to repress every mark of intemperate joy on this occasion." * Here spoke the true Quaker!

Still loyal to his sovereign, Franklin visits Paris in the autumn of 1767, writing to his son before going over, "I am told I shall meet with great respect there"—the first intimation he gave of the tendency of France and America to gravitate together;—a tendency of such vast import later on. From Paris he writes enthusiastically of French politeness and courtesy, the nation comparing most favorably with the English, adding, "one has the same deference shown one here by being a stranger, as in England by being a lady!" After his presentation at Court, however, he is patriotic enough;—"No Frenchman could go beyond me in thinking my own King and Queen the very best in the world, and the most amiable!"

Franklin's "Causes of the American Discontents before 1768" at this time cleared up some misunderstandings; while in 1773 a pamphlet which had great success, and was many times reprinted, was his "Rules for Reducing a Great Empire to a Small One; presented to a late Minister when he entered upon his Administration." (Lord Hillsborough). No one knew better than Franklin the value and the opportunity of satire, and he deserves a niche little below those who are known as the masters of satire in the English language. Many a little turn, too, could he give to

* From original in Pemberton Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

the affairs of daily life, in a way to make a telling point, as when he sends with a small gift;—"Mr. Franklin presents his respectful compliments to Lord Bathurst, with some American nuts; and to Lady Bathurst, with some American apples, which he prays they will accept as a tribute from that country, small indeed, but *voluntary!*" "It has often happened to me," he wrote, "that while I have been thought here too much of an American, I have in America been deemed too much of an Englishman!"

There seems to be no reasonable doubt that Dr. Fothergill proposed the final effort made toward reconciliation. An autograph letter from him to James Pemberton, still preserved,* is in part as follows:

"Near Middlewich, Chester ²³/₈ 1774.

* * * * * * *

I have often asked myself was I in the like critical situation call'd upon on one hand by everything that is valuable in this life to take the most Deliberate Counsel! and urged on the other by the popular warmth of men actuated by more passion, perhaps, than experience, to engage in measures that admitted of no recovery, if these measures were not dictated by the most solid wisdom.

I will not presume to enter into a field so replete with difficulties on all hands. I will simply offer what at present seem'd most likely to have been my own opinion, supposing I had no better information of affairs here than I have at present.

My first wish would be to choose out of so large a congress a few sensible, sedate persons from each colony, to come over to this country immediately and in the mean time to recommend on your side the most perfect submission to authority. No inflammatory publications, no non-importation schemes. Nothing that your enemies or the ignorant misguided people here would have made use of to your disadvantage. You suffer more by the passionate resolves of some ignorant assemblies—I do not mean Provincial Assemblies—than the people of America can easily conceive. The business of this committee should be to apply to the members of both Houses individually, at least such as can easily be come

* Pemberton Papers.—Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

at, and by a little moderate conversation, give them full information of your situation, assure them of the state of the dispute between you, and with great moderation, yet with proper firmness, urge their attention to the mutual reciprocal interest of a great empire. * * * * * If something of this nature is not attempted, both you and we are, I am afraid, on the brink of a fatal precipice. * * * Should you adopt a measure of this nature, and depute a number of judicious, moderate persons who have hitherto kept out of all passionate procedures, I think you would be able to do much for the service of both countries. * * * I partly wish'd that Dr. Franklin would stay here, till your demonstrations are made known to him. Should you think that conciliatory measures ought to be attempted, tho' he may not perhaps be heard impartially by a few, yet he retains considerable influence with individuals, and might render a commission like this proposed very considerable success."

Soon after this, Franklin prepared to return to Philadelphia, after eleven years in London as agent for the Colonies; and while still in his house in Craven st., one last attempt was undertaken by several eminent persons to effect a reconciliation between the mother country and the colonies. For this purpose, a little diplomacy was employed upon the diplomat himself, and the principal actors were Quakers. These were the "good Doctor Fothergill", as Franklin loved to call him, and his friend David Barclay, representing the London merchants who petitioned Parliament in the matter. David Barclay was the last surviving grandson of the famous author of the "Apology," and was born in 1728. Head of an extensive mercantile house in Cheapside which was largely engaged in the American trade, he wound up his affairs at the outbreak of the Revolution and retired in affluence, devoting his great abilities to the cause of philanthropy. The inheritance of an estate in Jamaica determined him, at the cost of £10,000, to liberate his slaves, which he did with his usual sagacity. He sent out an agent to Jamaica, with instructions to charter a vessel in which all were transported to America, and not abandoned by their caretaker until they were established in good trades, thereby winning their lasting gratitude. He lived to the age of eighty one, dying in 1809. His handsome figure and fine presence aided a superior understanding to impress itself upon all who came in contact with him. Like Franklin, he was examined at the bar of

the House of Commons, and his advice, although not taken, was so clear and convincing, that Lord North made a public acknowledgment of his services.*

Through their common friend, Mr. Raper, the conspirators contrived that Franklin should be taken to call upon the sister of Lord Howe, who challenged him to a game of chess. The attractions of an elegant and accomplished lady, over his favorite game, in one of the aristocratic houses of London, was too much for Franklin, always ready to follow the advice of his own "Poor Richard," and make friends in powerful quarters, and the chess party came off with great éclat, in November, 1774. "I had not," said the Doctor afterward, "the least apprehension that any political business could have any connection with this new acquaintance!" A day or two before this, David Barclay had visited Franklin upon Parliamentary affairs, and mentioned the "great merit" any one would have "who could contrive some means of preventing so terrible a calamity (as war), and bring about a reconciliation." "He was pleased to add," says Franklin, "that no man had it so in his power as myself. Mr. Barclay apprehended that I judged too harshly of the ministers," * * * * and would "call again." Two days after he received a letter from him, enclosing a note from Dr. Fothergill, who deeply lamented the unhappy contest, and in 1765 had printed, anonymously, a now rare pamphlet on "Considerations relative to the North American Colonies." † The letter alluded to ran as follows:-

"Youngsbury, near Ware 3d. 12th. Month 1774.

Esteemed Friend;

"After we parted on Thursday last, I accidentally met our mutual friend, Dr. Fothergill, on my way home, and intimated to him the subject of our discourse; in consequence of which I have received from him an invitation to a further conference on this momentous affair, and I intend to be in town tomorrow accordingly, to meet at his house between four and five o'clock; and we unite in the request of thy company. We are neither of us insensible, that the affair is of *that magnitude*, as should almost deter private persons from meddling with it; at the same time we

*Chamber's Edinburgh Journal for October 6, 1849, will be found to contain a good account of D. Barclay.

†"Considerations Relative to the American Colonies.", London, 8 mo., 1765, Henry Kent, Finch Lane.

are respectively such well-wishers to the cause, that nothing in our power ought to be left undone, though the utmost of our efforts may be unavailable. I am thy respectful friend,

To Dr. Franklin, Craven St.

David Barclay."

This was enclosed in an invitation—

"Dr. Fothergill presents his respects to Dr. Franklin, and hopes for the favor of his company in Harpur St. tomorrow evening, to meet their mutual friend, David Barclay, to confer on American affairs. As near five o'clock as may be convenient.

Harpur St. 3rd. Inst."

A paragraph from the Autobiography brings it all vividly before us: "The time appointed was the evening of the day on which I was to have my second chess party with the agreeable Mrs. Howe, whom I met accordingly. After playing as long as we liked, we fell into a little chat, partly on a mathematical problem" (Mrs. Howe's accomplishments were unusual for the day), "and partly about the new Parliament, then just met, when she said, 'And what is to be done with this dispute between Great Britain and the colonies? I hope we are not to have a civil war?' 'They should kiss and be friends,' said I; 'what can they do better?' * * * * "I have often said," replied she, "that I wished Government would employ *you* to settle the dispute for them; I am sure nobody could do it so well. Do you think the thing is practicable?" "Undoubtedly, Madam, if the parties are disposed to a reconciliation; for the two countries have really no clashing interests to differ about. It is rather a matter of punctilio, which two or three reasonable people might settle in half an hour. I thank you for the good opinion you are pleased to express of me, but the ministers will never think of employing me in that good work; they choose rather to abuse me." "Ay," said she, "they have behaved shamefully to you. And indeed some of them are now ashamed of it themselves." I looked upon this as an accidental conversation, and went in the evening to the appointed meeting at Dr. Fothergill's, where I found Mr. Barclay with him."

It turned out that the object of the meeting was the endeavor on the part of the two Quakers to induce Franklin to draw up some plan agreeable to the colonies, which they believed certain powerful friends at court might be induced to consider with favor, and urge upon the ministry, several of whom they knew to be more

favorable than the rest. The evident need for haste, and their philanthropic purpose, prevailed upon the diplomat to overlook any impropriety that might be involved by taking action while awaiting the result of the Congress then sitting, and he promised to meet them again in a day or two, with something tangible to present. This took the form of—

“Hints for Conversation upon the Subject of Terms that might probably produce a durable Union between Great Britain and the Colonies,” embodied under seventeen heads, and covering all the points in dispute. Copies were sent to both gentlemen present, and one retained by Franklin, Lord Hyde and Lord Dartmouth being the persons to whom they desired to present them, with the agreement that for the time being, the matter should remain *sub rosa*. “For my part,” says the Doctor, “I kept the whole proceeding a profound secret ; but I soon after discovered, that it had taken air by some means or other.” Meantime the proceedings of Congress and the petition of that body to the King had reached the hands of Franklin, and the Secretary of State, after asserting that Congress was an illegal body, and therefore not entitled to be heard, agreed to deliver the petition, which was destined to come to naught.

On Christmas evening, Franklin was again at Mrs. Howe's for chess, and she asked his permission to present her brother, Lord Howe. Franklin of course, “would be proud of the honor !” His Lordship, after some preamble, intimated that although Franklin might not desire to have any *direct* communication with the ministry, or to have it known that he had any that was even *indirect*, yet, being himself upon no ill terms with them, he might convey Franklin's sentiments to them, and theirs to him, and that he might rely upon his Lordship's keeping perfectly secret everything that he might wish so to remain. Mrs. Howe, although discreetly offering to withdraw, was a party to all this, “for” said Franklin, “I had never conceived a higher opinion of the discretion and understanding of any woman on so short acquaintance.” As it was known that they played chess together at her house, it was agreed that another secret meeting should take place soon after.

Meantime, Franklin had interviews with Governor Pownall, Lord Chatham, (who received him “with an affectionate kind of respect that, from so great a man, was very engaging !”), and

Lord Camden at Chisellhurst, and was back in town in time to keep his appointment at Mrs. Howe's, who expressed her wish that Lord Howe were going on a peaceful mission to America, rather than that their brother, General Howe, should go out to command the army. "I think, Madam," said Franklin, "they ought to provide for General Howe some more honourable employment!" Here Lord Howe produced the "Hints," which Franklin had drawn up, and to whose authorship he owned, and asked him to modify them, which Franklin reluctantly agreed to attempt, and to allow the copy to be in the handwriting of Mrs. Howe, although Franklin disregarded the necessity for further secrecy. The new terms were transcribed, and on the third of January, 1775, Franklin received the following:—

"Mrs. Howe's compliments to Dr. Franklin; she encloses him a letter she received last night, and returns him many thanks for his obliging present" (his philosophical works), "which has already given her great entertainment. If the Doctor has any spare time *for chess*, she will be exceedingly glad to see him any morning this week, and as often as will be agreeable to him, and rejoices in having so good an excuse for asking the favour of his company."

The note enclosed expressed Lord Howe's regret at the unlikelihood of the success of his efforts toward a peaceable ending of the dispute. Later on, when Lord Howe returned to town, he lamented that Franklin's terms were not such as could be accepted. Franklin remarked that as his own propositions were not acceptable, he very much desired to hear from the ministers what *would* do, and although his Lordship promised when he learned their sentiments himself, to inform Franklin, it was some weeks before anything further was heard from Lord Howe. Meantime, David Barclay and Franklin were busily preparing the Merchants' petition, and Dr. Fothergill reported having interviewed Lord Dartmouth and the Speaker of the house, Sir Fletcher Norton, both of whom called the terms presented in Franklin's "Hints" too humiliating. The wise old Doctor replied that Britain had been unjust, and that the bitter pill, if swallowed, would be salutary, but only good wishes were the outcome. On the 19th. of January, Franklin was gratified to be personally introduced into Parliament by Lord Chatham, then very feeble. His Lordship made the famous motion to withdraw the troops

from Boston, as a first step toward an accommodation. The motion was rejected, and Franklin wrote a grateful note to America's best friend.

About this time, dining one evening at Lord Spencer's, in company with a number of noblemen, the conversation turned upon fables, when someone remarked that he thought the subject exhausted. All agreed that no beast, bird or fish could be found that might be worked up new. Franklin remained silent, when, after being pressed for his opinion, he said that he believed the subject to be inexhaustible, and to prove it, asked to be allowed pen, ink and paper, when he would make the attempt. These were brought, and he sat down and wrote:

The Fable of the Cat and the Eagle.

Once upon a time an Eagle, circling above a farmer's barn, and espying a hare, darted down upon him like a sunbeam, scooped him in his claws, and remounted with him into the air. He soon found that he had a creature of more courage and strength than a hare, for which, notwithstanding the keenness of his eyesight, he had mistaken a cat. The snarling and scrambling of the prey was very inconvenient, and what was worse, she had disengaged herself from his talons, grasped his body with her four limbs, so as to stop his breath, and seized fast hold of his throat with her teeth. "Pray," said the eagle, "let go your hold, and I will release you." "Very fine," said the cat, "I have no fancy to fall from this height and be crushed to death. You have taken me up, you shall stoop and let me down." The eagle thought it necessary to stoop accordingly.

So applicable was this fable to the affairs of England and America at this time, that it was much applauded, and its originality remained unquestioned.

After this, meetings with Dr. Fothergill and David Barclay took place on the 4th and the 16th of February, and next day Lord Howe proposed to Franklin, in case he himself should be sent to the colonies as Commissioner of Peace, that Franklin should co-operate with him, suggesting financial advantages therefrom; an idea rejected by Franklin from the mercenary point of view, and only possible if he were fully in command of, and in sympathy with, the propositions to be laid before the colonies.

This, of course, came to nothing, and hints of the nature of a bribe were hastily and emphatically rejected. All the time, Barclay and Fothergill were at work, the former still having some idea that money might appeal to Franklin, to lend himself to a proposition to compromise. But the staunch old Doctor was firm and sat through the final session of Parliament in wrath and indignation at hearing his countrymen called cowards and knaves for not submitting to imposition quietly. Meetings in the daytime, and meetings at midnight, all unofficial and all in the midst of his preparations for sailing, were submitted to by the Doctor, and all without result. On the 7th of March, Franklin and Howe met for the last time, upon the good cause set going by Dr. Fothergill. Lord Howe said that Franklin had been a better prophet than himself, and hoped that he would pardon the trouble he had given him, for his intentions had been of the best toward the public and himself. They parted cordially. A few days before Franklin left London, he met David Barclay and Dr. Fothergill, "when," he says, "they desired me to assure their friends (in America) from them that it was now their fixed opinion, that nothing could secure the privileges of America but a firm, sober adherence to the terms of the association made at the Congress, and that the salvation of English liberty depended now on the perseverance and virtue of America." The evening before Dr. Franklin left London, he received the following note from Dr. Fothergill:—

"It would be well to get together two or more friends (in Philadelphia), and inform them that whatever specious pretences are offered, they are all hollow, and that to get a larger field on which to fatten a herd of worthless parasites is all that is regarded. They will stun at least, if not convince, the most worthy, that nothing very favorable is intended, if more unfavorable articles cannot be obtained." Franklin notes that Fothergill's large practice, taking him among all classes of people, gave him an excellent opportunity to read the public mind.*

Doctor Fothergill was associated in philanthropic effort with Lady Huntingdon, and they seem to have asked the intervention of the diplomat, for a letter from Franklin to Fothergill

* For Franklin's own account of these negotiations, see Sparks, V. 8. Also, "Monthly Review," January, 1775.

not long before the latter's death, is dated Passy, 19th. June, 1780, in which he says,

"My dear old Friend, Dr. Fothergill may assure Lady Huntingdon of my respects, and of any service in my power to render her, or her affairs in America. I believe matters cannot much longer continue in their present situation, but will return to that state in which they were when her property and that of our common friend, G. W. (George Whitefield) received the protection she acknowledges.

* * Be pleased to remember me respectfully to your good sister, and to our worthy friend, David Barclay, who, I make no doubt, laments with you and me, that the true pains we took together to prevent all this horrible mischief proved ineffectual. I am ever yours most affectionately,

B. Franklin."

Lady Huntingdon had been a generous contributor toward the establishment of Whitefield's Orphan House in Georgia.

Franklin and Fothergill parted with mutual regard, a token of which remains with us today in the little creampot which has been described. When the will of Benjamin Franklin came to be written, the year before his death, (it is dated June 23rd, 1789,) he inserted the following :—"I request—that my friend Mr. Hill, may also accept my silver cream-pot, given to me by the good Dr. Fothergill, with the motto 'Keep bright the Chain'." Henry Hill, of Philadelphia was one of his four executors.

It is not generally known that Barclay and Fothergill were also associated with Franklin in financing the affairs of the famous old Pennsylvania Hospital in Philadelphia,—an institution to which time has lent dignity, honor and wealth, and an increasing usefulness in the community. In 1772 they sent over "between 6 and 7000" pounds, and before the war broke out, transferred all the foreign invested funds to this side of the Atlantic. Dr. Fothergill recommended at the same time the use of iron bedsteads in the institution. While I would not for a moment detract from the credit given Franklin as the founder of the Pennsylvania Hospital, yet his marvelous power of assimilating the suggestions of others, and turning to practical demonstration what otherwise might have died of inanition, leads one to ask whether it is not likely that his idea for Philadelphia was taken from London, and that the already famous Dr. Fothergill,

—founder himself of hospitals and schools—made the original suggestion? “He was,” wrote Franklin many years later, “among the best men I have known, and a great promoter of useful projects.* In any case, Franklin returned the compliment, and in 1760, proposed to Fothergill a street cleaning method for the city of London.

Benjamin Franklin sailed for home May 5th, 1775. He arrived in Philadelphia in the evening, and the next morning was unanimously chosen delegate to the Continental Congress, which accepted the responsibility of resistance to English tyranny. Probably there was now little time for chess. It was during Franklin's later residence as American minister in France, that we have a fleeting glimpse of him at his favorite game in another society,—the chess-room of the Café de la Régence, which still flourishes, and where players from the four quarters of the globe still gather. The widening of the Paris streets has removed it a few hundred feet from the old site, and Munich beer and English afternoon tea are served in place of the wine and coffee of Franklin's time.

This was the adored statesman who went to Court in brown cloth coat and knee breeches, white stockings, hair brushed flat and without powder, and bi-focal spectacles of his own invention perched in enormous round frames on his nose. It was also during that period that word came to him of Dr. Fothergill's death. He wrote David Barclay :—

“ Passy, 12th February, 1781.

Dear Sir :

I condole with you most sincerely on the loss of our dear friend, Dr. Fothergill. I hope that some one that knew him well will do justice to him by an account of his life and character. He was a great doer of good. How much might have been done, and how much mischief prevented, if his, your, and my, joint endeavours, in a certain melancholy affair, had been attended to.

With great respect and esteem, I am, &c.,

B. Franklin.”

The Pemberton letters in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania show that the institution owes much to the early support of the English Friends.

He wrote in 1783 to Dr. J. C. Lettsom, who was preparing the life of Dr. Fothergill, which is today the best account, although incomplete, which we have ;—“ If we estimate the goodness of a man by his disposition to do good, and his constant endeavours and success in doing it, I can hardly conceive that a better man ever existed.”

The Progress of the Temperance Cause among Friends of Philadelphia.

By JOSHUA L. BAILY.

WE ARE admonished "To remember the days of old, to consider the years of many generations." *

In response to this admonition I propose to set before you some facts in regard to the progress of the Temperance Cause among the Friends of Philadelphia in "the days of old" as well as in the years of other and more recent generations.

It is now 224 years since William Penn landed on the shores of the Delaware. Very soon thereafter he built for himself a private dwelling and in addition to the main building, he built a brew house.

Watson in his "Annals" tells us that "in the early period of Philadelphia it was very common for the good livers to have brew houses on their several premises for making home-made strong beer," and James Logan is mentioned as one of those who had a brew house adjacent to his residence.

But it does not appear that Friends confined themselves to the "home brewed strong beer," for wines and West India rum were among the chief importations of that period, and as there was a law made against persons who put water into rum, it may be inferred that it was customary to take rum *straight*.

That there was, however, some legislation attempted in the interests of Temperance we may learn from the early passage of a law prohibiting "the playing of cards, cock-fighting and the *drinking of* healths."

From the minutes of Meetings and such other records as I have had access to I conclude that the use of alcoholic liquors

*Deut. XXXII—7.

An Address made at the Annual Meeting of the Temperance Association of Friends of Philadelphia, Fourth Month, 1906. Revised.

among Friends at that time was general. Beer, wine and rum were common beverages and were considered essential for the preservation of health and the promotion of strength. Total abstinence does not seem to have had any consideration, and we may fairly infer that it was exercised by few, if any. Excess was to be avoided, but moderation was commended, and where Friends were in poor circumstances and unable to provide themselves with these essential beverages, care was taken by their neighbors and sometimes by the Meeting to which they belonged to see that their deficiencies were supplied; for instance, at Falls Monthly Meeting in Bucks County in 1703, William Biles, a prominent member and minister, was directed to supply what a certain poor Friend was in need of, to wit:—molasses and rum.

It seems that however indulgent Friends may have been with their own members they concerned themselves at a very early period against the sale of Liquors to the Indians.

At Burlington Monthly Meeting in 1679 the following minute was made, viz:

“It is desired that Friends should consider the matter of selling Rum to the Indians, and whether it is lawful at all for Friends to be concerned in it.”

And at the Yearly Meeting held in Burlington in 1685, a minute was made as follows, viz:

“This meeting doth unanimously agree and give as their judgment that it is not consistent with the honor of Truth for any that make profession thereof, to sell Rum or other strong liquors to the Indians because they use them not to moderation but to excess and drunkenness.”

And the Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia in 1687 gave forth this testimony, viz:

“That the practice of selling Rum or other strong liquors to ye Indians directly or indirectly or exchanging Rum or other strong liquors for any goods or merchandize with them, considering the abuse they make of it, is a thing contrary to the mind of ye Lord and great grieve and burthen to his people and a great reflection and dishonor unto the Truth soe far as any professing it are concerned, and for the more effectual preventing this evill practise we advise as aforesaid that this our testimony may be entered in every monthly meeting Booke and every Friend belonging to their Monthly Meeting to subscribe the same.”

There were at that time seven monthly meetings. In three of them the above recited "testimony" was recorded and signed
 at Chester M. M. by 77 male members
 at Concord " " " 17 " " and
 at Middletown " 49 " "

What action was taken by the other monthly meetings does not appear to have been a matter of record.

While Friends of that early day were very pronounced in their testimony as to the great injury done the Indians by the use of alcoholic beverages we will have occasion to notice in the course of this narrative, how very slow the Friends were to perceive the injury done themselves and pale faced people generally by the use of like beverages.

That Friends took a lively care in restraining some other improprieties appears from sundry minutes of monthly, quarterly and Yearly Meetings.

A minute of Chester Monthly Meeting of 1704 is in these words,

"That such that walk the streets or ride horseback with their pipes in their mouths smoking tobacco are to be reproved."

And the Yearly meeting held in Burlington 1704 made this minute,

"Let all be watchful against immoderate and indecent smoking of tobacco in all places and especially in Public houses where the temptation to that, as also to ye excess in Drinking, seems most to be. And it is very unseemly and not like the gravity that Truth leads into for any to walk or ride in the streets or Highways with Pipes in their mouths."

The following Queries were directed to be read and answered in the Monthly and other meetings for Discipline, viz :

1st Query, "Do any accustom themselves to snuffing or chewing tobacco in meeting?"

2nd Query, "Do Friends keep clear of excess either in drinking drams or other strong drinks?"

I do not find any subsequent query or disciplinary action in relation to the use of tobacco but the minutes of many meetings show that a concern was maintained to abate or remove objectionable practices connected with the use of strong drink.

At Chester Monthly Meeting in 1717 "Friends had under consideration the inconvenience of the frequent carrying about of cups and glasses with liquors at burials," and the subject was re-

ferred to the Quarterly Meeting, where the Chester proposal being considered "it was agreed that no strong liquor be publicly handed about on such occasions."

At Chester Monthly Meeting of Women Friends in 1724 a minute was made of which the following is a verbatim copy, and is an evidence of the gentleness with which our sisters of that time dealt with those who were addicted to alcoholic indulgence, viz :—

"That Friends take care at burials not to make a great provision as to provide strong liquor and to hand it about, but let everyone take that is free to take it, as they have occasion, and not more than will do them good."

The following minute appears in the proceedings of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of 1726,—

"It having been observed that a pernicious custom has prevailed upon the people by giving rum and other strong liquors to excite such as bid at vendues and provoke them at every bidding to advance the price beside the injustice of the artifice, is very scandalous and leads to great intemperance and disorder, therefore it is the unanimous sense of this meeting to caution Friends against the same and if any under our profession do fall into this evil practice, or do by any means encourage the same (by giving or taking drams or strong liquor at vendues or other noisy revelling gatherings) they should be speedily dealt with as disorderly persons."

There having been a great increase in the number of Public Houses, and many of the Magistrates being Friends upon whom devolved the authority to grant licenses, the subject claimed the attention of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of 1738, and the following minute was made, viz :—

"The great number of Public Houses being considered it was recommended that such Friends as are Magistrates use their endeavors to lessen the number of persons recommended for that service (Public housekeeping) and that Friends be careful not to sign petitions recommending any but such as are proper persons, or where there is a real necessity."

The year 1777 witnessed a decided advance in the practical application of the testimony of Friends against what then was called "the unnecessary use of spirituous liquors." The Yearly Meeting of that year made a minute advising that Friends should not encourage the distillation of spirits from grain by selling their grain for that purpose or using the product, and advising that Friends should not keep taverns. Several Monthly Meetings ap-

pointed committees "to make inspection whether any of their members were in the practice of distilling spirits out of grain or selling or using such spirits or were engaged in the occupation of tavern keeping," and not long afterward in most of the meetings tavern keeping became a cause of disownment.

It was in or about the year 1755 that the Discipline was revised and the form so familiar to us all was adopted and which has continued without material change for more than a Century, viz :—

"Are Friends careful to avoid the excessive use of spirituous liquors, the unnecessary frequenting of taverns and places of diversion, and to keep in true moderation and temperance on account of births, marriages, burials and all other occasions."

But as we have already had occasion to observe, progress has been slow. It is within the memory of many now living when men were not expected to work in the harvest fields without being provided with liquor, either spirituous or fermented. I was myself a witness of this among Quaker families in Chester County where I spent a portion of my youthful holidays, and it was rarely thought practicable to raise a barn or to conduct either a marriage or a funeral without a supply of liquors. I was once present at a Friend's funeral when, after the interment, most of the Company returned to the house of the deceased where a generous repast was spread, liquors being a conspicuous feature of the occasion.

In the early part, and even in the middle of last century, Friends in this City who could afford it had their wine cellars and their wine closets, as I know from personal observation, and decanters and wine glasses had their customary place on the side-board.

Within the period last referred to there was a Friend residing in this city, a member of this meeting,* in the station of a minister and who occupied a seat near where I am now standing, and who was the author of a treatise on "the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion as illustrated in the profession, ministry, worship and faith of the Society of Friends,—" a book which passed through several editions in this country and was afterwards republished in London, but who, at the same time, was so addicted to the use of strong drink that he was not infrequently visibly affected by it. His spiritual gifts, however, seemed to be so

* Western District Monthly Meeting, Philadelphia.

generally recognized and valued that the frailty I have referred to was too long condoned by his friends. It was often said of him that he could preach a better sermon, if on his way to Meeting he chanced to stop at a certain Friend's house on Market Street above Ninth, well-known in those days for the hospitality of its side-board. But, alas for this eminently gifted man, the habit of drink obtained such control of him that he was finally disowned from membership.

In the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of 1845 a modification of the query was proposed by a Friend who thought that the use of wines and fermented liquors should also be discouraged, and I remember that he was very pronounced in objecting to the customary use of wine at weddings. He was supported by a very few individuals, the opposition being over-whelming and came largely from those who occupied seats in the ministers' galleries, one of whom justified the use of wine at weddings quoting the example of our Lord at the marriage in Cana of Galilee. The Clerk of the meeting was particularly out-spoken saying that he "did not believe in making rules of discipline prescribing what Friends should eat or drink," and a minister from England who occupied a seat at the head of the Meeting expressed his concurrence in the views of the Clerk.

It was the practise at that period and for many years thereafter for the Monthly Meetings to send reports up through the Quarterlies to the Yearly Meeting as to the number of members who used ardent spirits as a drink or gave it to others for that purpose. The number reported in that year (1845) was 48, and the number reported in the ten (10) years ensuing varied from 36 to 54, an average of 47. Then for some reason which remains unexplained the number of delinquents increased, and for the next decade (1855-1865) it varied from 62 to 81, an average of 68.

During the following sixteen years (1866 to 1882) the number of delinquents diminished varying from 35 to 54, or an average of 44. Throughout all this period one or more of the Quarterly Meetings reported themselves to be entirely clear. As many as four Quarterly Meetings reported clear in the year 1851, but this seemed to be a temporary condition for in the year immediately following, only one Quarter claimed that distinction and from 1859 to 1865, inclusive, none were reported to be entirely clear.

In 1874 the reports on the use of spirituous liquors solicited

consideration and discussion such as had not been accorded them in many previous years. This was at a session under date of 4th Month, 23rd. I have at hand notes made on the evening of that day giving the substance of the discussion which I will read, omitting only the names of the speakers.

At Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 4th Month 23rd, 1874, Fifth day afternoon.

The reports on the use of spirituous liquors were read and considered. The number reported as using or handing to others was 54, as against 48 reported last year. The clerk asked if the subject should be recommended down to the care of the subordinate meetings as usual, to which a few friends sitting near him responded affirmatively.

A Friend asked whether the meeting was not ready to take a further step by enquiring as to the use of *fermented* as well as spirituous liquors. Another friend said he thought our testimony should extend not only against intoxicating drinks but against the use of tobacco. Another Friend in proposing that the words *intoxicating liquors* should be substituted in the minute for the words spirituous liquors, said it was well known that a very large proportion of the drunkenness which we see around us comes from the use of liquors which are *not* spirituous, such as ale and beer and the fact that the Yearly Meeting does not discourage the use of fermented liquors, is accepted by some as a license for their use. So many as twelve to fifteen Friends expressed their concurrence in these views.

The Clerk attempted to stop this expression by stating that the subject would come up in a report from Burlington Quarterly Meeting. A Friend suggested that it would be better that the report from Burlington should be read before disposing of this matter by minute, and the same view was expressed by others.

The Clerk meanwhile was writing and then rose and read a minute to the effect that after consideration the meeting had decided to recommend the subject to the attention of the Quarterly meetings *as heretofore*.

One of the Friends who had already spoken said he had not understood that the Yearly Meeting had come to any such decision. Certainly a large proportion of those who had spoken had favored a change from what had been usual by now making the enquiry extend to the use of *all* intoxicating liquors and that several friends had asked that the report from Burlington Quarter should be read before any conclusion of this meeting was minuted.

The Clerk then rose with the minute of Burlington Quarterly Meeting in his hand and stating that it contained a distinct proposition proceeded at once to read it. It was a simple proposition that

the word "spirituous" in the Fourth Query should be changed to the word "*intoxicating*."

After a number of Friends in different parts of the house had expressed approval of the proposed change, some one near the clerk's table suggested that "the meeting was not in a fit condition to act upon the matter"; another said "the way did not open". These two thoughts were quickly taken up by a dozen or more Friends, most of whom sat in the ministers' galleries, and the clerk very promptly made a minute that "after seriously considering the proposition from Burlington Quarter way did not open to make any change."

Soon after the reading of this minute the clerk asked some one to name an hour of adjournment, when one of the previous speakers rose and said, "This, Friends, is the most sorrowful spectacle I have ever witnessed in this house. I should feel ashamed were I to be told outside what I have seen here today. Nearly every branch of the Christian Church has declared unequivocally against the use of all intoxicating drinks and yet we falter and hesitate. Can it be possible that this body representing the Society of Friends in this place, and claiming to hold up a loftier standard of morality than any other Christian sect can decline to bear a clear testimony on this subject? Why even those whom we too often speak of as 'the people of the world' are in advance of us."

Several voices were heard in endorsement of these remarks, but near the clerk's table a voice called for adjournment, and the clerk was about to pen, if indeed he had not already written the closing minute, when the speaker already twice quoted again, arose saying, "Well then it is to go out from this house tonight that this Yearly Meeting has refused to discourage the use of intoxicating drinks, and this refusal will be accepted by many of our members as a license for their use. I ask you to pause for a moment and consider what sort of influence we can exercise as parents and guardians over our children and those under our care to restrain them from the use of these pernicious drinks when they can turn upon us and say 'The Yearly Meeting does not discourage their use, the Yearly Meeting permits it.' Is this meeting willing to assume the responsibility thus involved? I entreat you, Friends, not to do it. I entreat you, even at this late hour, not to adjourn until some record is made discouraging the use of *all* that intoxicates."

"Let such a minute be made," "I approve of that," and other concurrent expressions came from different parts of the house, and especially from the body of the meeting, and the clerk began to write, but it was already dark, and there being no lights in the house, some one went out and returned with a lighted candle. "Let the

clerk make a minute and bring it in here tomorrow," said one. "No," came from several voices, "Let the minute be made now." "I am making a minute," responded the clerk, and presently he rose and read a minute which closed with the words, "*We would also recommend our members to avoid the use of all drinks which will intoxicate.*"

"I am satisfied with that," and "I am also," was heard from many voices. A Friend in the gallery proposed the insertion of the word "Unnecessary" so as to read, the "unnecessary use." Several objected to the insertion of this word as weakening the force of the admonition, but the clerk responded "I have inserted the word unnecessary", and immediately read the minute of adjournment.

The full minute made on this occasion is as follows, viz:—

"From the reports from the Quarterly Meetings information is received that inquiry has been made of the members generally, respecting their use of spirituous liquors as a drink ; from which it appears that the members of sixteen monthly meetings are clear of using them for this purpose. In other Monthly Meetings there are 54 members who use them, four habitually and most of the others only occasionally, of this number 7 hand them to others. All the Quarterly Meetings but two in which there are those in this practice state that labor has been extended to such to induce them to abandon it. Although the number who use this pernicious article as a beverage is rather greater than that reported last year it is satisfactory to find that our members so generally discourage the practice. Impressed with the danger which attends those who make only an occasional use of the article of becoming so ensnared with the habit as to be unable to control it, we would affectionately exhort our members again to discontinue the practice altogether, *and we would also recommend them to avoid the unnecessary use of all drinks which will intoxicate.*"

From that time on for eight years, that is until 1882, notwithstanding the minutes of the Yearly Meeting advised total abstinence from all that would intoxicate, the reports came up from the Quarters as before, only indicating the number of those who used ardent spirits or spirituous liquors, the two terms being used as synonymous.

But in 1882 the Monthly Meetings were directed to report the number of members making use of *any beverages that would intoxicate*, and the formal query (the fourth) was revised by substituting the words "intoxicating liquors" in place of "spirituous liquors." The application of this new rule which was intended to apply to all malt liquors very largely increased the number of those reported beyond that of any previous year. Accordingly in the year 1883 the number reported reached 256, or three times as great as the highest number ever before reported and nearly five times the average of the preceding sixty years. In the eleven years following, which was up to 1893 inclusive, the average number reported was 220, the lowest number in any of those

years having been 191, when by the advice of a Committee appointed to consider the subject, it was concluded that thereafter the reporting to the Yearly Meetings of the number of persons using intoxicating beverages should be discontinued. The report of the Committee I have here and will read.

Report of the Committee

"An examination of the records of the Yearly Meeting shows that this question is one that has exercised the minds of Friends for the past two hundred years. As the evil results to the community of the manufacture, trading in and use of intoxicating liquors became more and more manifest, they have increased their efforts steadily to advance the cause of temperance in the Society, until the general sentiment of the Yearly Meeting has now progressed from that of temperance to total abstinence.

"In view of the alarming increase in the use of intoxicants and especially of fermented liquors, within the past ten years, by the population of this country, as indicated by the official reports of the Internal Revenue Department of the United States government, and the fact that the Supreme Court of the United States has declared that "the statistics of every state show a greater amount of crime and misery attributable to the use of ardent spirits than to any other source", we feel that the present is not a time when our religious society should relax in any wise its efforts to warn and guard its members from this ensnaring vice, or should ever *seem* to take a backward step in its testimony against it.

"With a view of harmonizing, as far as possible, the honest difference of opinion that exists in the minds of the members of the Yearly Meeting as to the best measures to be used in future in promoting total abstinence among our members, we are united in proposing that the report hitherto made to the Yearly Meeting annually of the *number* of persons using intoxicating beverages, be discontinued.

"We, however, recommend that each of our Men's Monthly Meetings appoint a committee of judicious Friends, who shall ascertain annually, by personal enquiry, or otherwise, how many of their members have partaken of intoxicating beverages or have given or sold them to others within the preceding year. These beverages are to include fermented cider, wine and malt liquors, as well as all other intoxicants.

"Such committees should labor in Christian love to counsel the young, and to help and restore the tempted, so as to bring about, as far as possible, a willing and harmonious support of the cause of total abstinence from all intoxicants by our members, both for their own safety and as an example to others; agreeably to the words of Holy Scripture: 'It is good neither to eat flesh or drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother stumbleth or is offended or is made weak.' Rom. XIV. 21.

"These committees are to report to their several Monthly Meetings the result of their labors, with the number of those who disregard the concern of the Yearly Meeting; which reports shall be forwarded to the Quarterly Meeting next preceding the Yearly Meeting. Quarterly Meetings shall re-

port to the Yearly Meeting whether the Monthly Meetings have attended to this subject, and state if there has been any improvement or otherwise since the previous year, but without giving statistics.

"We recommend that the following advices be added to those now in use, and read annually in the Monthly and Preparative Meetings, viz :

"That our members wholly abstain from the use of all intoxicating liquors as a beverage and in culinary preparations.

"That they avoid, as far as practicable, patronizing hotels, restaurants or stores where such liquors are sold, and in no case sign petitions for, or accept licenses for the sale of alcoholic beverages, or rent or lease their buildings for the manufacture or sale of such liquors."

This report, and especially the closing recommendations, comprise the most advanced pronouncement on the use of intoxicants ever made by authority of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and there is good ground to believe that it has the approval and is regarded in the practice of our members generally.

The minute made by the Yearly Meeting in 1904 states that the indulgence seems to be confined to a very small percentage of our members and in nearly all cases to only occasional gratification of an appetite for mild alcoholic drinks.

Two hundred years ago, Friends kept slaves, at least those Friends kept slaves who could afford to do so. There was no such thing as a testimony then against slavery, but that testimony had its beginning and gradually and steadily swept through the Society, until by the close of the first century of Quakerism in America it could be said that with a very few exceptions the members of the Society of Friends were clear of slaveholding.

Two hundred years ago there was no testimony in the Society against the use of intoxicating drinks, in fact their use as a beverage among Friends, as has already been stated, was almost universal. The only testimony they had to bear in the matter was against *excess*. The testimony against the utter disuse was of very slow growth, but it was a steady growth because it had Truth and Reason to commend it. Although we have not yet reached the point where we are able to say that there is not in all the land a Quaker who indulges this injurious appetite, yet we think it may be claimed that among the Quakers everywhere throughout this country total abstinence is a rule and indulgence the exception.

I said a word about the concurrence in the views of the clerk as expressed by an English Friend who attended Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1845. I have reason to think that he fairly represented the views that were generally held at that time by Friends in England. I cannot speak from the book but I well remember that John Bright made quite a stir in the Yearly Meeting some forty or more years ago by a vigor-

ous speech in denunciation of the habit of wine drinking. I have not anything to refer to but my memory, but I recall that he said that he had not been a total abstainer all his life, but that during the 36 years that he had then been a householder he had not indulged in the use of wine; that he did not own a decanter or even a wine glass; that he often had 'my Lord this' and 'my Lord that' to dine with him and that he would say to them that he thought for once in their lives they could do without their accustomed beverage, and in the Yearly Meeting he earnestly appealed to Friends to abandon the custom which was the parent of so large a part of the vice, misery and poverty by which they were surrounded. And I remember, too, the very active part taken somewhere about that time by his sister, Margaret Lucas, who afterwards became widely known both in America and England in her earnest labors in the cause of abstinence. It must have been that from about that time a very great advance was made among Friends in England toward the position which they have since attained.

At a Temperance Meeting held during the week of the Yearly Meeting in Leeds last year (1905) one of the speakers declared that 99% of the Quakers in England were total abstainers. I was lead to question the accuracy of this statement, but this I quite believe, that Friends in England have reached a high watermark in this great reform.

The large Temperance Committee of English Friends is the creature of the Yearly Meeting, appointed and sustained, and has the sympathy of the whole body. That Committee has a salaried Secretary who occupies an office in Devonshire House where the Yearly Meeting is usually held, and here he is always accessible and maintains a correspondence with all the branch temperance associations of Friends throughout the Kingdom. Numerous meetings are held not only in Friends' Meeting Houses but elsewhere, and an active propaganda is kept up throughout the year.

Speaking of Friends' Meeting Houses brings to my recollection the fact that when at a period within the memory of some who are present, the use of this meeting house was asked for a Friends' temperance meeting, it was denied, so small was the sympathy felt for the cause at that time. I doubt whether any Friends' Meeting House in Philadelphia could have then been had for a temperance meeting, but we may rejoice in the fact that the doors are open for us now not only here but in other Meeting Houses within our limits, and I should be sorry to think that the doors of any Friends' Meeting House within the borders of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting would now be closed against us.

One other fact I must not omit to mention, that there was a time, and this, too, within the memory of many who are now living,

when the principal brewers in Philadelphia were Quakers, so that looking backward over conditions which once existed among us, I think we have much occasion for congratulation and encouragement and should feel stimulated to go forward in confidence and hope to do our utmost for the good cause which has been so far advanced.

The morning light which breaks over the purple hills comes not suddenly but slowly yet surely. This is a wise provision, and as in the world of nature so in the world of morals as the light advances the darkness recedes. The march is steadily onward and time has no record of its backward step.

Notes.

Temperance Conditions in Philadelphia in 1823

*From an unpublished Diary of Thomas Grisell, an
Ohio Minister who visited Philadelphia
Yearly Meeting*

“This day the State of Society was entered upon. In which it appeared that many Friends were in the habit of having their fruit distilled. A number were concerned in distilleries and 102 were retailing it. Oh! how some of us mourn in Secret when we hear how things are right here among Friends of this place—a place where we might expect Friends were at the head of our Society, an example.”

I. S.

Was John Dickinson a Friend?

Whether John Dickinson, the Revolutionary leader, was a member of the Society of Friends, has received different answers. In his later life he was closely identified with it and passed as such in the community. His ancestors were Friends, as were also his wife and children. From the following unpublished letter it would seem that at the time (about 1787) he was not a member. The exact facts of the case will require the examination of the Records of more than one Monthly Meeting. There is a persistent tradition in Wilmington, that though often urged to remain

to business meetings he always refused because he said that Friends *should* have disowned him for the part he took in the Revolutionary War. The subject will bear further investigation.

After arguing for a plain, simple education as against advanced, A. (?) Emlen says to J. Dickinson :—

“ Thou mayst be a suitable laborer in the work if disposed to. It is a worthy act not only to do good ourselves but to induce others thereto. If thou wast become a member of Society thou mightest with just assistance of others also yoked in mind to the service become as Dr. Fothergill, a vigilant advancer of it into execution. But that must depend on thy own feelings. Perhaps human wisdom is not yet sufficiently reduced in subjection to the simplicity that is in Christ, to make thee as yet willing to stoop to the foolishness of the cross sometimes appearing in the Quaker. I do not mean an irrational or unchristian foolishness but what appeareth foolishness to Sophistry. I suggest these things respecting thyself. I do not say they are so. Forgive my great freedom and burn this if I do not conclude to save thee the trouble. If it goes let the veil of charity cover its defects. And may thou persevere this time in that which shall induce us to address thee in the character of—John Dickinson the Worthy—not J. D. Esq., or the Great. Thou wilt say I suppose I am a strange girl to write as I do. Farewell however.

Thy Friend,

A. Emlen, Jr.”

I. S.

State of Education among Philadelphia Friends after the Revolutionary War

An unpublished letter of John Dickinson to James Pemberton, about 1787 :

“ I have frequently reflected with much approbation on the caution observed by Friends respecting the books read by young persons. Yet I must say that this caution seems to have been in some instances carried too far.

Other Christian Societies have had excellent writers whose

works can hardly be read without improvement, and yet in many families I have never seen any of the labors of their hands.

Another thing has often grieved me and that has been the total ignorance of many among our young concerning the progress of human affairs under the superintending providence of infinite goodness, wisdom and power.

I scarcely ever meet with a book in their parents' houses that can give them the slightest information on such subjects, and yet an acquaintance with them is of such importance for explaining—" (next page lost.)

In his reply, James Pemberton agrees with J. D., and says that while he has urged the matter upon Friends, he has never succeeded in making any apparent impression. The efforts to found Westtown took shape soon after, and John Dickinson was most active and liberal in the movement. Education was evidently in a very low state at this time.

I. S.

CONSTITUTION

OF

Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia

ARTICLE I.

NAME.

This Association shall be denominated Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia.

ARTICLE II.

OBJECTS.

The object of the Society shall be to collect manuscripts and other material for the elucidation of the history of Friends in America.

ARTICLE III.

MEMBERSHIP.

The Society shall be composed of, first—Contributors; second—Correspondents. The Contributors shall be members of "The Society of Friends."

The Correspondents shall consist of other persons interested in the object of the Society, who shall have the privilege of attending all meetings and participating in the discussion of historical subjects which may be under consideration.

ARTICLE IV.

OFFICERS.

The officers of the Society shall be selected from the Contributors and elected by them, and shall consist of a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, all of whom shall be elected annually—also of twelve Councillors, six of whom shall be elected each year.* The Officers and Councillors shall constitute a Board of Managers of the Society.

ARTICLE V.

BY-LAWS.

The details of management of the Society shall be provided for in the By-Laws.

ARTICLE VI.

AMENDMENTS.

This Constitution may be amended at any meeting of the Society, provided that a notice of the intended amendment shall have been given two months in advance.

* After the first year.

BY-LAWS

OF

Friends' Historical Society of of Philadelphia

ARTICLE I.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual Meeting of the Society shall be held on the last Second-day of the First month, at such place and hour as the Council may decide. Other meetings of the Society, either for the transaction of business or for the consideration of historical subjects, may be called by the Council giving due notice.

ARTICLE II.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1. Roll Call.
2. Reading of Minutes of previous stated meeting and special meetings.
3. Report of Treasurer.
4. Report of Standing Committees.
5. Report of Special Committees.
6. Unfinished Business.
7. New Business.

ARTICLE III.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS.

Contributors and Correspondents are to be elected by the Council.

ARTICLE IV.

NOMINATING COMMITTEE.

At each Annual Meeting a Committee shall be appointed by the Contributors to make nominations to the next Annual Meeting for Officers and Councillors. Other nominations may be presented over the signatures of three contributors at any Annual Meeting.

ARTICLE V.

COUNCIL.

The Officers of the Society shall also be the Officers of the Council. Vacancies among the Officers or Councillors may be filled by the Council.

ARTICLE VI.

ANNUAL DUES.

The minimum annual subscription shall be one dollar, and the payment of \$50.00 by a contributor shall constitute life membership. Non-payment of an annual subscription for two successive years upon due notice by the Secretary, shall constitute withdrawal from membership.

ARTICLE VII.

MEETINGS OF COUNCIL.

The Council shall meet at the call of the President, or upon the request of three members of the Council. Seven members shall constitute a quorum.

ARTICLE VIII.

COMMITTEES.

The Council shall appoint from its members :—

1. Committee on Finance, to consist of three members.
2. Committee on Historical Research, to suggest lines of research, to bring forward matters of interest, to have charge of all collections of historical matter ; and to make such investigations as are necessary in regard to proposed deposits.

ARTICLE IX.

AMENDMENTS.

Amendments to these By-Laws may be made by the Council when offered in writing at any meeting of the Council, notice having been given at least one month previously.

Officers of the Historical Society

of

Friends of Philadelphia

Elected at the Annual Meeting, First Month 29, 1906

President, Isaac Sharpless.

Vice Presidents, Jonathan Evans,
Abby Newhall.

Secretary, Albert T. Bell.

Treasurer, J. Snowdon Rhoads.

Councillors for One Year

Albert T. Bell,
Frances B. G. Branson,
William H. Jenks,

Helen Hopkins Jones,
Sarah E. Moore,
Frances Tatum Rhoads.

Councillors for Two Years

Joshua L. Baily,
James Emlen,
Martha H. Garrett,

Amelia M. Gummere,
Lucy B. Roberts,
William F. Wickersham.

List of Members

Acton, Martha W., 503 Hansberry St., Germantown

Albertson, Mary A., 3940 Brown St., Phila.

Allen, Dr. Mary E., 1245 South 49th St., Phila.

Allen, Elizabeth R., Moorestown, N. J.

Allen, Samuel L., Moorestown, N. J.

Allen, Sarah H., Moorestown, N. J.

Alsop, David G., 409 Chestnut St., Phila.

Alsop, Margaretta S., Haverford, Pa.

Balderston, Elizabeth P., 1835 Arch St., Phila.

Bacon, Anna D., Ashley, Torresdale, Phila.

Bacon, Helen R., Ashley, Torresdale, Phila.

Bailey, George, Jr., Jefferson Medical Col. Hos., Phila.

Baily, Albert L., Haverford, Pa.

Baily, Joshua L., 32 S. 15th St., Phila., or Ardmore, Pa.

Baily, Wm. L., 421 Chestnut Street, Phila.

Barrett, D. C., Haverford, Pa.

Barrett, M. F., Haverford, Pa.

Bartlett, J. Henry, 234 N. 20th Street, Phila.

Bartlett, Jane W., 234 N. 20th Street, Phila.

Bell, Albert T., "Chalfonte," Atlantic City, N. J.

Biddle, Elizabeth, 1427 Arch Street, Phila.

Biddle, John W., Media, Pa.

Biddle, Samuel, 1427 Arch Street, Phila.

Branson, Thomas F., M. D., Rosemont, Pa.

Branson, Frances B. G., Rosemont, Pa.

Brown, David J., 446 Church Lane, Germantown, Phila.

Brown, Henry T., Moorestown, N. J.

Brown, Mary Willets, 3412 N. 19th Street, Phila.

Brown, Robert P., 3412 N. 19th Street, Phila.

Cadbury, Emma, 1633 Race Street, Phila.

Cadbury, Joel, 1502 Green Street, Phila.

Cadbury, Richard T., 409 Chestnut Street, Phila.

Carter, Abbie G., Media, Pa.

Carter, John Pim, Media, Pa.

Cheney, J. S., Jr., Gallitzin, Pa.
 Child, Lucy B., 6th and Noble Streets, Phila.
 Comfort, Henry W., Fallsington, Pa.
 Comfort, Howard, 529 Arch Street, Phila.
 Comfort, Lydia P., Fallsington, Pa.
 Comfort, Susan W., Knox Street, Germantown, Phila.
 Cope, Thomas, Jr., "Awbury," Germantown, Phila.
 Cope, Francis R., Jr., "Awbury," Germantown, Phila.
 Craig, William P., 409 Chestnut Street, Phila.

Dillingham, John H., 140 N. 16th Street, Phila.

Eastburn, Samuel C., Langhorne, Pa.
 Elfreth, Jacob R., Lansdowne, Pa.
 Elkinton, Eleanor R., Media, Pa.
 Elkinton, Joseph, Media, Pa.
 Elkinton, William T., 121 S. 3rd Street, Phila.
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 Emlen, Sarah, " " " "
 Emlen, James, " " " "
 Emlen, John T., " " " "
 Evans, Jonathan, "Awbury," Germantown, Phila.
 Evans, F. Algernon, " " "
 Evans, Edward W., " " "
 Evans, Ernest M., " " "
 Evans, Harold, " " "
 Evans, William, 252 S. Front Street, Phila.

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 Garrett, Eleanor E., " " " "
 Grantham, Alice South, 1527 Poplar St., Phila.
 Gummere, Amelia Mott, Haverford, Pa.
 Gummere, Francis B., " "

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 Haines, Mary R., Rosemont, Pa.
 Haines, Phoebe E., Wayne Ave., Germantown, Phila.
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 Leeds, Josiah W., West Chester, Pa.
 Leeds, Lydia R., 162 S. Penna. Ave., Atlantic City, N. J.
 Leeds, Mary M., 3221 N. 17th St., Phila.
 Leeds, Morris E., 3221 N. 17th St., Phila.
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 Lippincott, Elizabeth H., 115 W. Coulter St., Germantown,
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 Lowry, Edward S., 27th & Lombard Sts., Phila.

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 Maier, Paul D. I., 1218 Chestnut Street, Phila.
 Mickle, Sarah E. P., 430 W. Stafford Street, Phila.
 Miller, Isaac P., 409 Chestnut Street, Phila.
 Moon, Anna P., Morrisville, Pa.
 Moon, Edith C., Morrisville, Pa.
 Moon, James W., Fallsington, Bucks Co., Pa.
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 Moore, Walter T., 121 W. Coulter St., Germantown, Pa.

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 Morris, Elliston P., Main St., Germantown, Pa.
 Morris, Martha C., Main Street, Germantown, Pa.
 Morris, Elizabeth C., Main Street, Germantown, Pa.
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 Nicholson, J. Whitall, Moorestown, N. J.
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 Phila.
 Rhoads, Margaret P., W. Coulter St., Germantown, Phila.
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 Rhoads, Harriet, M., Moylan, Pa.
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 Shoemaker, Martha C. " " " " "
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 Stokes, Martha E., Moorestown, N. J.
 Swift, Mary G., Millbrook, N. J.

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 Taylor, Thomas B., West Chester, Pa.
 Taylor, Elizabeth S., West Chester, Pa.
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 Thorp, Edward S., 5013 Franklin Street, Phila.
 Thorp, Ella R., " " "

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 Williams, Mary B. G., " "
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 Winston, Samuella, " " " "
 Winston, Reaumur, 1822 Arch Street, Phila.
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Press of
THE LEEDS & BIDDLE CO.
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Philadelphia



WILLIAM ROTCH

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia

Illustration

Likeness of William Rotch, Frontispiece.

Contents

| | |
|---|---------|
| 1. William Rotch and the Neutrality of Nantucket during the Revolutionary War, <i>by Lydia S. Hitchman</i> , | Page 49 |
| 2. Some Rhode Island Records, <i>By Anna Hodgson</i> , | 56 |
| 3. Pennsbury, <i>by Samuel C. Eastburn</i> , | 61 |
| 4. A Pennsylvania Episode, <i>by Isaac Sharpless</i> | 70 |
| 5. A Correction, <i>by Joshua L. Baily</i> , | 75 |
| 6. Notes, | 76 |

Communications concerning this Bulletin should for the present be addressed to Isaac Sharpless, Haverford, Pa.

A copy of this Bulletin is furnished gratuitously to each member. Additional copies at 30 cents each.

William Rotch and the Neutrality of Nantucket during the Revolutionary War

LYDIA S. HINCHMAN.

William Rotch was born on the Island of Nantucket in 1734, and died in New Bedford, Massachusetts, in 1828.

With his father he carried on whale fishery, and they appear to have been men of considerable importance.

At the foot of Main Street, Nantucket, still stands a narrow brick building erected by Wm. Rotch. In November, 1774, the proprietors appointed a committee "to agree with Wm. Rotch

about building a market house," and the record says this building was "for the use of the town and adjoining to the Strait Wharf in compensation for a piece of common land to be granted to him near said wharf; and there are many evidences that during the residence of William Rotch on Nantucket he was a prominent man of affairs.

When the Revolutionary War broke out, and the whaling business was practically ruined, William Rotch went first to England; and not realizing the success expected, he went to Dunkirk, France, where special privileges were granted to him by the French Government. He carried on business in Dunkirk until 1794, when he returned to America, going first to his native town; but after about a year he removed to New Bedford.

A paper by Augustine Jones, published several years since in the *American Friend*, gave considerable data concerning William Rotch, establishing in the mind of the reader beyond a question the support given by William Rotch to the testimony of Friends against war.

His disposition of the bayonets, which he threw into the sea that they might not be made "instruments to kill men," was only the beginning of an earnest testimony which was later to be put many times to the test, as his association and that of his family with maritime interests made them especially conspicuous on the sea and in seaports. Mr. Rotch himself owned the ship Bedford which first displayed the American flag in British waters, and his brother Francis owned the Dartmouth from which the tea was thrown into Boston harbor, 12, 16, 1773.

His great-grandson, Edmund Rodman, in a letter to one of your members some years ago, tells the following story, and it was well for William Rotch that the Mayor of Dunkirk shared the feelings of General Prescott when he said, "If a Quaker will be a Quaker it is all I want of him."

In this letter Edmund Rodman says:

"He was a consistent friend, and had the courage of his convictions.—

"He was at Dunkirk at the time of the Napoleonic wars; one day there came news of the great victory at Austerlitz. Municipal orders were issued commanding every one to illuminate in honor of the event. My grandfather was true to his principles and refused to obey the order, though every house in the street was a blaze of light. The good Mayor

of the city was very friendly with my grandfather and called to expostulate and, if possible, persuade him, fearing danger from the mob in those excited times, but Mr. Rotch refused. 'Well,' said the Mayor, 'the street belongs to the city, and I will do what I can.' So he procured two large lanterns and had them placed directly in front of the house, and detailed some gendarmes to walk up and down in front and explain to the people that those who lived there were not enemies, but good friendly people who did not believe in war."

The position of Nantucket at the time of the Revolution was appreciated by William Rotch, and he used all means in his power to protect its commerce. The fact that he is named on committees of importance during the years when much of his time was spent abroad, indicates that he must sometimes have visited America.

To understand the situation perfectly, one must go back to the latter part of the seventeenth century and follow closely the history of the fishing interests of Nantucket, and consider the building up of a business which would have been ruined if the islanders a century later had boldly taken sides with the Colonists.

Very early in its history the people of the island had undertaken whale fishing; whales were plentiful along the coast, small boats were used in their capture, the fishermen venturing short distances only from the shore and returning to their homes each night; by degrees they undertook longer voyages, and in 1775 the following report made to Congress by Thomas Jefferson conveys some idea of the proportions which this industry had assumed, and how large a part of the Massachusetts income from whaling may be credited to Nantucket.

For Massachusetts there were employed—

304 vessels,

4059 seamen,

returning about 47,040 barrels of oil.

In which Nantucket was accredited with—

150 vessels,

2025 seamen,

30,000 barrels of oil.

About one-half of the vessels and seamen and nearly two-thirds of the oil were thus accredited to Nantucket.

For several years previous to this date the more timid had

been casting about for a means of livelihood attended with less risk than that of following the seas.

French privateers gave the whalers considerable trouble, and shipowners lost heavily.

At first Nantucket sent oil to England through other ports. At the time immediately preceding the Revolution trade was carried on to a considerable extent directly with London, and the gathering clouds on the political horizon threatened the only industry which had brought gain and comparative wealth to Nantucket.

A large number of citizens removed to North Carolina, thence to Indiana and Ohio, to Maine and to New Bedford, and a considerable company united with Providence and Martha's Vineyard in locating and settling the city of Hudson, and the large number of Macys, Coffins, Gardners and Starbucks who may be found in various parts of the country owe their residence in those places to the exodus from the Island of Nantucket at that time.

There, too, were many who remained and took chances which, on the breaking out of the war, resulted disastrously.

To meet the extremity a committee composed of Benjamin Tupper, Timothy Folger, William Rotch and Samuel Starbuck was sent to New Port and New York to interview the British commanders, and the following agreement was arrived at: "That depredations should cease, provided the town of Nantucket would observe strict neutrality."

A powerful factor in their non-partisanship or neutrality was the spirit of non-resistance fostered by Quakerism, the prevailing religion on the island at that time.

Referring to the non-resistant principles of Nantucket, a traditional story is told of defence resorted to by some good Nantucket Quakers, led by one Jethro Starbuck, in dealing with a French privateer.

It was told by the grandson of Friend Starbuck to his descendants. It is, however, not of record except as tradition, and while probably true, cannot be vouched for.

This story relates that floor mops and salt water were so vigorously used that the victims were temporarily blinded and easily

made prisoners. I have often wondered what the good Friends would have done if bayonets had been available then, and I like to fancy that Jethro's determination to carry his point may account for a fixed purpose, not to say stubbornness, in some of his descendants.

The story illustrates an adaptability to circumstances, the using the means at hand, but whether it can be given as a good example of non-resistance or not may be questioned.

After arrangements with the English were completed, the American Colonists, believing that persistency in fitting out whaling vessels, and the protection which was given them, indicated loyalty to the Crown, themselves opened warfare upon the Nantucket ships.

Doubtless Tories were in about the same proportion as in other places throughout the country, but there were many citizens loyal to the interests of the American Colonies.

A town meeting was convened on the 25th of September, 1782, and a memorial prepared and adopted which was sent to the General Court of Massachusetts.

That portion of the petition which referred to the prosecution of their business reads in part as follows:

"We now beg leave to throw a few hints before you respecting the whale fishery as a matter of great importance to this Commonwealth.

"This place before the war was the first in that branch of business and employed more than one hundred sail of good vessels therein, which furnished a support not only for five thousand inhabitants here, but for thousands elsewhere. No place so well adapted for the good of the community at large as Nantucket, it being destitute of every material necessary in the business, and the inhabitants might be called factors for the Continent, rather than principals; as the war increased the fishery ceased until necessity obliged us to make trial the last year with about seventeen sail of vessels, two of which were captured and carried to New York, and one was burnt; the others made saving voyages.

"The present year we employed about twenty-four sail in the same business, which have mostly completed their voyages, but with little success; and a great loss will ensue; this we apprehend is greatly owing to the circumscribed situation of the fishery; we are now fully sensible that it can no longer be pursued by us unless we have full liberty both from Great Britain and America to fish without interruption.

* * * * *

"And if due attention is not paid to this valuable branch, which, if it was viewed in all its parts, perhaps would appear the most advantageous of

any possessed by this Government, it will be entirely lost if the war continues.

"We view it with regret and mention it with concern and from the gloomy prospect now before us, we apprehend many of the inhabitants must quit the island, not being able even to provide necessaries for the approaching winter.

"Some will retreat to the Continent and set down in the Western Governments, and the most active in the fishery will most probably go to distant countries, where they can have every encouragement by nations who are eagerly wishing to embrace so favorable an opportunity to accomplish their desires; which will be a great loss to the Continent in general, but more to this Government in particular.

"We beg leave to impress the consideration of this important subject, not as the judgment of an insignificant few, but of a town which a few years since stood the third in rank (if we mistake not) in bearing the burthens of government; it was then populous and abounded with plenty; it is yet populous, but is covered with poverty.

"Your memorialists have made choice of Samuel Starbuck, Josiah Barker, William Rotch, Stephen Hussey and Timothy Folger as their committee who can speak more fully to the several matters contained in this memorial or any other thing that may concern this county, to whom we desire to refer you. Signed in behalf of the town,

"FREDERICK FOLGER,
"Town Clerk."

This memorial was referred to a committee made up of representatives from the Massachusetts Senate and House who, in their turn, referred it to Congress and "in addition to the action of the General Court the town sent William Rotch and Samuel Starbuck to Philadelphia to intercede personally in the matter."

One of our Pennsylvania Governors, referring to the importance of Philadelphia in Revolutionary days, reminds us that "Philadelphia was then not only the chief city of the Colonies, the centre of art, literature and population, but the seat of the Revolutionary Government and the place where the Continental Congresses held their sessions."

As a result of the efforts of the Massachusetts General Court, seconded by the visit of William Rotch and Samuel Starbuck to Philadelphia, permits were granted by Congress and duly delivered, and the Agreement of Neutrality made by Nantucket was conscientiously carried out. Nantucket struggled through the war and experienced considerable prosperity after the procla-

mation of peace which followed very closely on the negotiations with the General Court.

William Rotch was in 1784 prominent in New England Yearly Meeting, being on its executive committee and on the committee to consider the state of the Society and devise measures for improvement.

He also was a strong patron of Providence Friends' School which began in 1784 at Portsmouth, Rhode Island.

Some Rhode Island Records

ANNA HODGSON.

The following extracts from an ancient book of Records will speak for themselves, and need little introduction, further than to say, that George Fox, in the course of his travels in America, went, in 1672, to Rhode Island, where he attended the Yearly Meeting for New England; here, as at other places, he encouraged the establishment of meetings for discipline, "that all might be kept clean," and "to take care of the poor and other affairs of the church, and to see that all who profess Truth, walk according to the glorious gospel of God." The outward evidence of his care still exists on Rhode Island (or did exist, fifteen years ago), in the form of sundry thick folio volumes, containing the ancient records of the Society there.

The book for recording marriages contains the following memorandum written on the inside of the cover:—

"Friends

"two books bought at Boston cost 20 shillings, the biggest for births and Deaths, and the lesser book for mariages only. so ordered at the mans meeting of frends at the House of William Coddington in the towne of New Port in Road Island in the yeare 1672, the 22th day of the 8-m 1672."

It is evident, in examining the "Record of the Death of Friends and their Children," that although this book was not published till 1672, the Recorder and other Friends began with using the memoranda of former days. The first page is as follows:—

Coddington
1647

Mary Coddington, the wife of William Coddington of Newport in Rhode Island in New England. She dyed in said town of Newport and was buried in the burying place of Friends that was given to Friends by William Coddington, her husband.

Coggeshall
1647

John Coggeshall President of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation in New England Being one of the first English Planters of said Island he lived to the Age of Eight & Forty years & then Dyed and was buried at Newport in the said Island in his own Land on the Right hand of the way that goeth from the Town to his House upon the 27 day of the Ninth [month] in the year 1647.

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| Bull 1665 | Elizabeth Bull the wife of Henry Bull of Newport She Dyed the first day of the Eighth month in the year 1665 and was buried in said Town of Newport |
| Easton 1665 | Christian Easton the wife of Nicholas Easton of Newport in Rhode Island she dyed at Newport and was buried in the burying place that Wm Coddington gave to friends out of his Lott at the Town of Newport upon the Twentieth day of ye Twelf Month in the year 1665 |
| Clarke 1651 | Jeremiah Clarke one of the first English planters of Rhode Island he dyed at Newport in said Island and was buried in the Toubm that stands by the street by the water side in Newport upon the — day of the 11 mo 1651* |
| Easton 1653 | Peter Easton (the son of Peter Easton of Newport and of Anne his wife) he being about the age of Three years . . . |
| Easton 1657 | Wait Easton the daughter of Peter Easton and Anne his wife. She dyed aboute the age of half a year old . . . |
| Coddington 1658 | Noah Coddington the son of Wm Coddington and Anne his wife he dyed at Newport 12 da 10 mo 1658 |
| Martyrs 1659 | William Robenson and Marmaduke Stevenson Two whome the world in scorn called Quakers Suffered Death at Boston by the Cruelty of the Chief Ministers & Rulers of ye said Town for witnissing of a good Constance before God upon the Twentieth day of ye Eighth month in ye year one Thousand Six hundred Fifty Nine 1659 |
| Dyer a Martyre 1660 | Mary Dyer the wife of William Dyer of Newport in Rhode Island she was put to death at the Town of Boston with ye like Cruel hand as the Martyers were in Queen Mary's time) and there buried upon ye 31 day of ye 3rd mo 1660. [This was the month that we now call the Fifth.]† |
| Coddington | Anne Coddington the Daughter of William Coddington and Anne his wife she dyed at Newport the 26 of ye 4 mo 1660 |

* Jeremiah Clarke was the father of Governor Walter Clarke.

† Judge Horatio Rogers, of the Rhode Island Historical Society, in his memoir of Mary Dyer, says that the Friends' Records make "an error of a day in the date" of her execution, which took place 6 mo. 1st, 1660; also that "her remains were buried on Boston Common, and there they now rest in an unknown grave."

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Almyes 1663 | William and Christopher Almy (the sons of Job Almy and Mary his wife) of Warwick in ye Colony of Rhode Island and providence plantation . . . they dyed and were buried in ye Town of warwick upon ye Tenth day of ye first month in ye year 1663 |
| Brown 1663 | Judah Brown the son of Chad Brown of Providence in the Colony of Rhode Island he dyed at Newport and was buried in the place given by Thomas Clifton upon 10 d 3 mo 1663 |
| [left blank] | James Easton the son of Peter Easton and Ann his wife of Newport he dyed young and was buried in the Town of Newport upon the Thirtieth day of ye Eighth Month in ye year 1664 |
| Leadra a Martyre 1661 | William Leadra one of those in scorn called Quakers was by the Cruelty of some of the Ministers and Rulers of Boston Executed on ye Fourteenth day of ye first Month 1661 |

The first page of the Records ends here. A few more extracts will be given:—

“William Coddington Dyed being Governour of this Colony and he was one of the first Planters and Purchastors of this Island of the Natives and he was buried on the 6 day of ye 9 mo 1678.”

“Walter Clark Deputy Governor Departed this Life in ye 77th yeare of his age at his own house in newport on Rhoad Island ye 23 day of ye 3d month called may in ye yeare 1714 and was Buried in ffriends Bureying Ground yt. was purchased of Thomas Clifton in Said newport.”

In William Edmundson's Journal, there is another glimpse of Walter Clarke, in 1675—nearly forty years before his death. He says: “In some few days we landed at Rhode Island, where great troubles attended Friends by reason of the wars [with the Indians under King Philip] . . . The people who were not Friends were outrageous to fight; but the Governor being a Friend (one Walter Clark), could not give commissions to kill and destroy men. Friends were glad of my company.”

“Ann Richardson ye widow of John Richardson & Daughter of Thomas Rodman of newport on Rhoad Island Aged twenty Eight Yeares and Seaven months. She Departed this Life at her ffathers house in sd newport one Rhoad Island ye 25th day of the 4th moth in ye yeare 1714: & in as much as it is my Lott to Enter her death upon Record I Can say She was ever a dewteyfull child . . . and am comforted boath in her Life & death T: Rodman.”

Dr. Thomas Rodman was an eminent physician, and also highly esteemed as a religious man. He was the first Clerk of

New England Yearly Meeting, and held that position until 1718. He was a son-in-law of Walter Clarke, above mentioned. Samuel Bownas wrote in 1703 or 1704: "We went for Rhode Island, and there Friends were numerous, and we had large meetings. There was a marriage of a young man whose name was Richardson, with a daughter of Thomas Rodman, a man of the first rank in the Island; so that we had the Governor, Samuel Cranston, and most of the chief men in the government, at the marriage, and we had a precious, living time, which gave me great encouragement."

Returning to the Records:—

"Daniell Gould aged neare nintey yeares he Departed This Life at his own house in newport on Rhoad Island ye 26th day of ye ffirst month in ye yeare 1716 & was bureyed In ffrriends bureying ground neare ouer meeting house—who boare a ffaithffull Testamoney ffor ye Truth hee possessed boath in sufering maney stripes at boston with ffrequent Testamonies in publick & ffinished this Life in a full assurance of Liffe Eternol which he signified one his Death beed & Encuraged all to believe and walk in ye same Truth—26 1 1716."

"Edward Wanton of Sittuat aged about 87 years he departed This Life at his own house in Sittuat ye Sixteenth day of ye 10th month in ye yeare 1716; and was bureyed Theare. He was among the first who embraced Friends' principles in New England, was a sheriff in Boston when Mary Dyer was hanged, and convinced while under the gallows with her & afterwards became a minister in the Society, and suffered much for the testimony of Truth."

Edward Wanton and his mother were living in Boston at the time of the executions of the Friends. Deane, in his history of Scituate, says, that he was an officer of the guard on one or more of these occasions; that "he became deeply sensible of the cruelty, injustice and impolicy of these measures; was greatly moved by the firmness with which they submitted to death, and was won entirely by their addresses before their execution. He returned to his house, saying, Alas, mother! we have been murdering the Lord's people!—and taking off his sword, put it by, with a solemn vow never to wear it again. From this time he took every opportunity to converse with the Friends, and soon resolved to become a teacher of their faith." A number of his descendants were prominent in the State or in the Society, or both.

One more record may be extracted:—

"Thomas Rodman of Newporte in Rhoad Island Aged about 87 years &

sixteen days he departed this life ye 31 day of the 11th month Called Jenuary In the year [1727] and was Bewried In friends Bewrying Ground Bequethed them By Thomas Clifton the firste day of the twelfth month having a Shurence of Peace with God for Ever and Ever."

After this, the Record gradually becomes a more formal one, chiefly of the name, parentage and date of death; though there are occasionally a few remarks, such as this, concerning Joseph Wanton, who died in 1754, aged ninety years: "Having lived to a good old age, and kept his station as an Elder in the church, and as a shock of corn fully ripe we believe was gathered to his grave in peace;"—of Philip Wanton (who died in 1778, aged 58 years); "on whose tomb might be wrote with much propriety, here lieth the remains of an honest man;"—and of David Williams, in 1823, "At the time of his decease, he was an overseer in Society, and had been useful in many appointments for many years, and was particularly attentive and hospitable to strangers."

The Coddington Burial-ground is in Farewell Street, near Marlborough, a short distance beyond the old Friends' meeting-house, but on the opposite side of the street. Nicholas Easton, a Friend mentioned in the Records, was the Governor of the Colony at the time of George Fox's visit; for as Roger Williams had established freedom of conscience in Rhode Island, there had been an influx of the persecuted Quakers, and a large number had been gathered to the Society, so that the government was chiefly in the hands of Friends. It must have been pleasant to George Fox, to find the Governor and magistrates disposed to entertain him and attend his meetings.

Pennsbury

SAMUEL C. EASTBURN

When your President did me the honor to ask me to read a paper before you here to-day, he gave no indication of what it should contain, but as our visit is to Bucks County, and to a place that had so much interest for the Founder, and "where I had hoped to spend the rest of my days in peace," as he wrote from England, I have assumed you would be most interested in the causes which led to his location here, and the early Friends in the County, at or about that time. For that purpose I have drawn on the carefully kept minutes of Falls and Middletown Meetings, established in 1682 and 1683, from my own papers, and from letters of the time, kindly given me from time to time by the descendants of those early Friends.

Penn had already appointed William Markham deputy governor in his absence. When Markham came to this County is not clear. He was evidently here when appointed, and had held a similar position under Gov. Andros for the Duke of York, and knew as well as any one about this part of the province. In 1680, James Harrison came here with Phineas Pemberton, his son-in-law, and located below the Falls of the Delaware. He might be called Penn's most trusted personal agent, and was fully acquainted with the ideas and desires of Penn. He was instructed, in connection with Markham, "to select me a site and build me a residence." It is believed the final selection was not made till the arrival of Penn in 1682 and its erection at once began. It may be as well to consider here why this location was selected as the permanent residence of Penn.

Both Harrison and Markham were aware of Penn's intention to build "a great town." As on 7 mo. 11, 1681, he writes, "that so soon as it pleaseth God that the aforesaid Persons arrive, a certain quantity of land or ground plot, shall be laid out for a larger town or city, in the most convenient place upon the river for Health and Navigation." Markham had a knowledge of the country and undoubtedly considered "below the Falls of the Delaware the most available place." This was and is about four miles

Read at Penn's Manor, Bucks County, Pa., before the Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia, on the occasion of its excursion there, Fifth month 26, 1906.

above here, nearly opposite Trenton, and the head of navigation. There were many reasons for this at that day. "The Falls," "The Great Falls," "at the Falls," "as far as the Falls," "below the Falls," were noted expressions in all the writings of that day, and when "above the Falls" was used, it referred to the unknown and undiscovered country from which Indians came. The first mention of it is when some Walloon families were located on an island below the Falls as a trading post for the West India Trading Co., in 1627. At the Falls, the River was crossed going to and from New York, which at that time was a considerable Dutch Settlement, as this point was the nearest to it, as here the River heads away nearly north. The River was no doubt at that time deeper and freer from obstruction by bars and islands than now, only three islands being noted on the map, when now there are a dozen or more. These were probably cut off mostly from the Jersey shore by what Phineas Pemberton calls the "great irruption" of 1692. Allowing for the time and distance this was probably the greatest flood ever known on the Delaware. The channels washed through the mainland at that time, were probably deepened by later floods, so we now have the numerous islands. There is no mention of this island in front of us being here till after that time. Markham writes of the great and deep river and that "the largest vessels can come as far as the Falls," hence its facilities for commerce. At that time it probably never occurred to him that there would probably be larger vessels than the one on which he crossed the ocean. Being in the long bend of the River it would have extensive wharfage with a fine level site and backed by a wonderfully fertile country. That he had made maps and surveys with this idea is undoubted. This being so, we can easily see why he and James Harrison should select Pennsbury as the residence of the proprietor. They knew Penn's love for rural life, yet here he would be near the seat of government. In touch with a large settlement of very able men who would be wise counsellors in helping to frame and administer a government such as had never been tried before, "in the fear of God and the love of mankind." It was near the route of public traffic, and the well settled province of West Jersey opposite, which had flourished greatly under Gov. Berkeley and Lord Cornbury later. It was also not far from the settlement of able Friends at Burlington. It would appear that Penn

readily accepted these ideas of his "trusted agents," as on his first visit he expressed himself as "well pleased" and ordered "120 acres to be laid off for the use of the town near the centre of it." This was done and was located about three miles nearly north from here and at the intersection of lines at right angles from the south and east boundaries of the town, or to the west of the present Falls village. As the town never materialized the tract went to Falls Township and was sold for the help of its schools for both white and colored people. The old graveyard south of the village is part of it.

Penn was in this country at first about twenty months when he was called back to England. Why the town was not built here, whether because of the leaving of the proprietor, the waning influence of Markham, after the Assembly was called, or possibly the destructive flood spoken of showed that it was not a safe place, we do not know. While here on that first visit, Penn had laid out some counties and townships, and roads, and established the first postal service in Pennsylvania. In 1683 he appointed Henry Waddy postmaster at Tekony, and a weekly service down the Delaware River from the Falls. The rate to Philadelphia 3 pence, to Chester 5 pence, to New Castle 7 pence, and to Maryland 9 pence.

It may be pardoned, I hope, for one who has always lived in Bucks County, and whose ancestors were among the early settlers here, if we stop for a moment to note that able people settled about here at this early date. These men were not adventurers or redemptioners, or probationers, and but few of them quitrenters, neither unworthy followers in the sense of waiting to see if Penn would lend his personal presence to the success of his project. But they were able, independent spirits who boldly sought a broader civil and religious liberty in a new country. They selected what they wanted, bought their land and paid for it in coin of the realm.

William Biles bought in 1680 what is now known as Biles Island (Vertschugin of the Dutch map) of over 300 acres of the Indians Orecton, Nannacus, Neuemblehocking and Patalena for 10£. James Harrison, Phineas Pemberton, Joseph Growden, Christopher Taylor, William Biles, Thomas Langhorne, George Brown, William Paxson, Robert Hall, Nicholas Waln, Gilbert Wheeler, William Yardley and Joseph Kirkbride were all then

located on the west bank of the Delaware and, with one exception, all bought their lands.

Remembering Penn's great love for agriculture and a rural life, and his oft expressed desire to have his children brought up "as husbandmen and housewives," we can readily believe he located among these able Friends and fertile lands with great comfort. Though he had put aside "the lusts of the flesh and the pride of life" when he joined the "Quakers," yet Penn was born and lived with essentially aristocratic ideas and loved to live among and associate with able people. He was an accomplished and polished gentleman, of good appearance and winning manners, "a cavalier whose sword was sheathed." "A military commander," said Charles II, "with all the powers a military commander should have." I am glad this view of him only makes more marked his kindness to the ignorant savages, and his zeal for Peace, and that their rights should be guarded against the rapacity of his own people.

In the lower end of Bucks County at that time and before, lived some of the strongest men of his colony, who were chief among his counsellors in forming his new government. One historian truly says, "James Harrison was Penn's most trusted agent." Phineas Pemberton was the first recorder of Bucks County and was called "the father of it," and with Jeremiah Langhorne of Middletown and Joseph Growden of Bensalem, were relied on as the staunchest friends of William Penn, and for some years controlled the affairs of the infant colony, while Christopher Taylor was president of his first Assembly held at Upland.

These people lived in a large way, in roomy houses of sawed logs, and, in the language of old Mahlon Stacy, who had a mill on the opposite side of the river in 1680, "with an abundance of all that is necessary for the sustenance of man."

The tract, which was known as the Manor of Pennsbury, was made up of many different tracts, some of which had been previously granted by Governor Andros for the Duke of York, and had reverted or been purchased for the purpose. It was originally called Sinpessing, and the small stream running in below here is marked on the Sluyter and Daynter map of 1642 as Sinpessing Kyl. In fact, Penn speaks of it just after its location as "my manor at Sinpessing" in letters to his friends. When he

lived there and after, it was known as Pennsbury, or the Manor of Pennsbury, now as Penn's Manor. It was said to contain about 8,000 acres, but whether in those days the imagination of land agents was as expansive as it is now, or whether the present day graft then stalked abroad, we do not know, but when carefully surveyed in 1733 for Penn's heirs by Surveyor General Eastburn, it contained 5,832 acres. As it was many years before some of the titles were perfected, it is probable that was the number of acres finally confirmed. The manor house was 60 ft. long, 30 ft. wide and three stories high, built of brick, probably burned near by, as there is no record of their importation. It had "a porch in front with rails and bannisters." "Let it have some ornamentation," writes Penn. A wide hall ran through the centre, with a parlor and large eating room on one side, and a large drawing-room on the other. The roof was covered with tile and a leaden reservoir for water was built on it. The kitchens were all outside the main house, as in August, 1684, Penn by letter directs James Harrison to have "a kitchen, two larders, a wash-house, a room to iron in, a Milan oven for baking, and a stabling for 12 horses." The outbuildings were "to be placed uniform with the mansion," and "not ascu." Later a brew house was built, 20 x 35 ft., 11 ft. to the eaves, with heavy sills and weather boards of planed cedar, "and with a generous fireplace." That he was prepared to build on his first arrival, is shown by the fact that he brought with him Henry Gibbs as a master carpenter, also a master stone mason and other artisans followed. The building did not proceed as rapidly as Penn desired and the house was not finished when he returned to England. James Harrison, in reply to a letter from Penn urging more haste, says, "thy man Gibbs is too much of a gentleman and does not work or look carefully after it," apparently as one reason for its slow progress. It had a wide walk from the front door down to the river. This door was too low and was divided horizontally in the centre. This Penn did not like and had "a more fitting door" made for it in England. In a letter from England (1701), Penn says, "Pennsbury has cost me over 5,000 £s." There were gardens on either side of the walk, which he was very much interested in having planted with the best seeds, sending to England and Maryland for that purpose. He also sent to Long Island for "hay dust," which he sowed with great

care, and to him do we probably owe the first sowing of clover and cultivated grasses in the country.

Not far back of the house was probably a forest of heavy timber as there was then but 40 acres of cleared land about it. "The great trees" which grew in these fertile bottom lands, were frequently mentioned in letters to friends in England. In speaking of William Paxson, one letter says, "he was mild in manner, but as strong in the cause of right as the great oaks by which he is surrounded." Penn not only selected trees and shrubbery and seeds with great care, but he imported blooded mares and the finest stallion he could buy in England—Godolphin Barb, a descendant of the great Tamerlane of that time.

His house furnishings seemed to be such as belonged to people of worth of that day. Silk, satin and camblet curtains and cushions. The dining room had "table cloths and napkins, tunbridge ware, white and blue china, silver forks and tea set." An old fashioned clock that stood in the hall is now in the Philadelphia Library, The great chair of his parlor set of seven, covered with leather, is in the Frankford Hospital and the others of that set are owned by different Friends' families who prize them highly. There is no known picture of the buildings. From the description of them Addison Hutton has drawn his conception of its design and has kindly loaned it for us to see to-day. It was probably much the same as the "great house" built by Joseph Growden a few years later and which is still standing, in good condition, on Belmont in Bensalem, a picture of which I also have here. As Growden was at that time a Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, he probably copied the Governor's house. The brew house still stood within my memory, also a row of cherry trees supposed to be planted by Penn down the lane.

During his first visit Penn did not reside at Pennsbury as his house was not ready. He probably stopped at houses of friends in his numerous visits, holding councils with them and various Indians who came here from above the Falls, from the upper districts on the Lehigh and Monocacy. He was said to have gone up and down the River in an eight-oared barge. He returned here on his second visit, but notwithstanding his great love for and interest in the plan he probably spent less than three years here altogether.

He writes from England in 1705, "it was my intention to

settle there, though God has been pleased to order it otherwise. I should have returned to it in 1686 or at furthest in 1689.” The family left in 1701, taking some of the furniture with them. The house was left in the care of John and Mary Sotcher. The house was much damaged by the bursting of the reservoir, and fell into very bad repair, and was unfit to live in. After his death a sale was made of his furniture and it was uninhabited, his sons taking no interest in the maintenance of the property so loved by their illustrious father. The land was sold to various parties in many tracts. That part immediately adjoining the mansion was later bought by Robert Crozier and remained in that family till bought by the Warners, who now own it. The bricks and stones of the mansion were probably used in the foundation of the present buildings.

The earliest burials here were made on the end of Biles Island. Here James Harrison, Phineas Pemberton and his wife, and Hugh Gibbs, the master carpenter, were buried in mostly unmarked graves. An old graveyard on the Morris farm about two miles from here, and one near Oxford Valley, appear to have been the other burial places.

In a letter to Friends in England in 3rd mo. 1683, it is stated a meeting is held at the Governor's home at Pennsbury and also at the Falls. As the Governor's house was not complete then it is more than probable, it was held near the Governor's home, possibly at the site of the present Manor Meeting House, about two miles from here, though the present building there was not built till later. The ministers of that early day were Christopher Taylor and Thomas Langhorne, who belonged to Middletown Meeting, adjoining Falls. The latter came with a minute from Kendall Meeting in England, which is such a quaint and beautiful tribute to him and is so full of the spirit of brotherly love, I cannot refrain from quoting it: “We recommend to you our dear friend and brother, Thomas Langhorne, into whose heart the Lord we hope, hath put it to give himself up with his family for your country in the western part of the world. We are more satisfied with his integrity and regard to God in the matter, because we can guardedly say, that the Lord hath blessed him with the riches and glory of His own life, in the enjoyment of which God has made him an instrument in His hands for the help and enjoyment of many. An elder that has ruled well, and is worthy

of honor, which in his own country he hath so large a share thereof, that he need not court the enlargement thereof elsewhere, and as to outward things, God has given him that plenty thereof and that fullness that cometh from true content. The glory and the riches of the kingdoms of this earth he need not covet after. You may lay your hands upon him with a ready mind and a brotherly respect, for you will find him worthy, and for him you will never be ashamed. He is bone of your bone, and the remembrance of him will be precious to your souls. We are made willing to give him up in your behalf, for distance or place cannot disunite from one another's help, and our bowels will be kept with you. You may be assured if it was not for our brotherly love and the Gospel's sake (for the furtherance thereof God has made him an able minister) if it was not for this we could not have given him up to the outwardly and remote parts of the world, whom whether we shall ever see his face again visibly we know not. He has had great power. We do not part with him as a thing of light value; and if we did not feel our loss would be your eternal gain, our sorrow could scarcely be expressed; but in your advantage does our satisfaction stand without grudging." Old letters from here speak of him as a man "mild in manner," a "devoted servant of his Master, and comes to us with a sweet savor of Gospel peace which to us is very precious."

Christopher Taylor was a learned man, probably the most so in the Colony, had been a preacher and teacher among the Puritans, but was convinced of Friends. George Fox visited the Friends on the Delaware, once crossing at the Falls and another time at Burlington, "passing Joseph Growden's great house" and crossing the Neshaminy at the foot of his lawn, and spending the night with Jeremiah Langhorne, a son of Thomas. A careful examination of the minutes of Falls and Middletown or Neshaminy Meetings, with the necessary filling in between the lines, gives us a very good idea of the lives and troubles of Friends in that early day, and impresses us that Friends were weak "like other folks." But notwithstanding the many slips by individual members, the zeal of the body, to do what they believed they were called upon to do, is very refreshing and "the sense of the meeting" was always in the right direction, whoever suffered. A minute was sent from Middletown Meeting as early

as 1688 to the Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia against the holding of slaves, although its two most prominent and wealthy members were at that time large holders of them. While drinking of spirits was the general custom, yet in the midst of it all, temperance was enjoined and enforced. Probably the first temperance document ever put forth in Bucks County was signed by over half the members of Middletown Meeting in 1687, as is shown by the following minute: "It being recommended to us from the Quarterly Meeting at Philadelphia, ye great and bad effects that has appeared by ye selling of ye Indians rum or other strong liquors, and a paper being presented which was read amongst us relating thereto—which upon due consideration was approved of—and in concurrence therewith give forth the following testimony—being duly sensible and heartily grieved with abuses of this nature which is too frequent up and down amongst us, especially as some goes under the profession of truth (whom it was expected should have been a better example), we fear, is not wholly clear of it—that ye practice of selling rum to ye Indians (considering the use they make of it), or ye exchanging rum or other strong liquors for any goods or merchandise with them, is a thing contrary to the mind of the Lord and a great grief and burthen to His people, and a great reflection and dishonor unto ye truth, so far as any professing it is concerned, and for the more effectually preventing ye evil practices aforesaid, we advise this our testimony be entered in every Monthly Meeting book and every Friend belonging to ye Monthly Meetings go to subscribe ye same."

But my paper gets too long for your patience. I hope our visit here to-day and my paper may cause us to breathe a prayer for some of the spirit of Penn to help this government deal with its newly acquired savage peoples, and renewedly impress us with the fact that he came preaching love, fairness, equity, humanity, morality, if you please, boldly proclaiming, "with God's help," his intention to build a government on these foundations, with stones rejected by all former builders. I hope it may help us to strive for like results in our neighborhood, state and nation. Then will we realize that feeling of gratitude to our Forefathers which that Indian chief felt when he declared: "As long as woods grow and waters run, me and my people will be friends with the great Onas and his people."

A Pennsylvania Episode

ISAAC SHARPLESS.

A few words are necessary in explanation of the following private letter which describes an interesting but not creditable episode in Pennsylvania history.

In the fall of 1763 the tribe of Conestoga Indians, with which William Penn had dealt, had become reduced to about twenty men, women and children, who lived on one of Penn's manors in Lancaster County, and supported themselves by selling brooms and baskets. The frontier settlers had become very much enraged by a series of Indian disturbances—with which these Indians were probably entirely unconnected—and threatened to exterminate all the redmen within their reach. They were religious fanatics who appropriated to themselves the command to the Israelites "to utterly destroy the natives of the land." In pursuance of these ideas a party of men came upon the Conestoga settlement and killed six of the number who happened to be at home. The others were taken in charge by the Lancaster authorities and lodged in the jail for safe keeping. The next day a party of fifty or sixty of these frontiersmen, known in history as "Paxton Boys," broke into the jail and killed the balance of the tribe. The act created a cry of alarm and reprobation over the Colony and the Governor endeavored to have the law enforced against the lynchers. In the excited state of public opinion this was found to be impossible, and these men and their associates, to the number of several hundred, concluded to extend their operations.

A little band of Indians, christianized by the Moravians, was brought for safety to Philadelphia, and lodged in barracks at Fourth and Green Streets. The Paxton Boys announced their intention of marching to the city and of killing these Indians and any Quakers who protected them, especially Israel Pemberton. Armed in rude fashion they soon passed over the ground between Lancaster and Philadelphia and encamped at Germantown. The alarm in the city was very great and many of the citizens, including Friends, armed themselves. A delegation headed by Franklin

waited on the Paxton Boys, who were now conscious that it would be impossible to carry out their purpose, and asked them their terms. These included certain political changes which were more or less reasonable, and a demand for the renewal of the rewards for Indians' scalps. The last was the only one of their terms which was granted, but they broke up their quarters and went home.

The letter from Sarah Potts, afterwards wife of Benjamin Hornor, describes the situation in one of the many Quaker homes of the city.

Philadelphia, Feb. 9th, 1764.

My very dear Sister:—I expect it will give thee uncommon satisfaction to see a letter that will convince thee thy dear sister is still in the land of the living, after the many dreadful accounts which I make no doubt have before this time reached White Hill, and filled thy heart with the extremest anxiety for the fate of this beloved city; but with how much more for the fate of those still dearer friends that inhabit it.

Indeed, my dear, it has been shocking times such as we never knew before, and which I heartily wish we never may again, if the remembrance of it serves to impress our minds with a true sense of the extraordinary goodness of that unerring Hand Who has caused this alarm to pass over without bloodshed, and preserved this city with its inhabitants from the imminent danger with which they were threatened. I say if it serves to make us more humble and sensible of the many blessings which we are permitted to enjoy, among which peace and plenty have hitherto been the foremost, it will not be without its good effects, effects which in all probability would be the best preservative against such alarms in future.

But lest thee should have had but very imperfect accounts of the affair I must endeavor to give thee a more particular one. But how to do it is the difficulty. To reduce that to any sort of order, which was nothing but a scene of confusion, requires an abler pen than mine; however, I shall endeavor to give thee some idea of our proceedings during the whole time and leave thee to imagine how we felt. On Seventh Day there was an express that the Paxons were coming down in a large body well armed, as was supposed to kill all the Indians and all that opposed them, if in their power. The cityzens were immediately summoned to meet at the State House to consult what was to be done, the news flew about, and as is common in these cases lost nothing in carrying, so by when it reached us the people were all in arms at eight o'clock on a First Day morning. By that time it was expected the Paxon boys would be in town, and it was feared the consequence would be a bloody battle wherein a great many innocent people might fall. They endeavored to put themselves in as good a posture of defense as they could, and thinking the attack

would be made at the barracks where the Indians were, turned most of their force there. We seemed pretty still at our end of the town, and before bedtime got better composed. The weather not being fit for them to march, we hoped to sleep another night in security, did so, and in the morning, finding all well till meeting time, went to meeting. After meeting went up to sister's, spent the remainder of the day in quiet, they were not come, and we seemed to think wouldn't. Came home and went to bed as usual, but were waked about 3 o'clock with the ringing of bells, the alarm guns, and a dreadful cry of fire. Judge what could have been more terrifying at such an hour. Poor sister, how I pity her when I think of it with only her little family about her, when in such distress obliged to conceal as much as possible her own fright lest it should heighten the children's.

But when day appeared it seemed to dispell the melancholy gloom a little which had overcast the faces of all, at least the females. We could now see each other and consult what was to be done. Sister came to our house and brought more dismal accounts than we heard before, that there were 900 at Germantown for certain, and it was expected they had a great number of friends in town would join them, that the street was so full of armed men she could hardly pass, Quakers not excepted; they seemed as ready as any to take up arms in such a cause to defend the laws and libertys of their country against a parcel of rebels. Edward Pennington they say was at the head of a company, and I am apt to think two-thirds of the young Quakers in town took up arms. I believe it's very certain there were two or three thousand men marching about town two or three days in expectation of the enemy's coming. But to return to our adventures, which were really tragic comedy. Sister thought she could not be easy to stay in town with her children when it was in such confusion, therefore, concluded to go over the river, and if there was any way of going to Morestown, to stay there till the hurry was a little over. Patty, Billy Hyde and I concluded to go to escort her and the children. We did so, but when we got there, though on such an extraordinary occasion, could not prevail on our own Jersey folks to take us a foot towards Morestown, but rather seemed to insult us as a parcel of cowards to fly to them for protection. Cousin Patty and I thinking it would not do to give up, walked to a mill through the mud to try some people who we heard had horses, but all to no purpose, we trudged back again weary of fatigue and disappointment and concluded to stay there that night if it would be permitted, which indeed was something doubtful, as the landlord did not seem overburdened with hospitality. His wife came home in the evening and told us to make ourselves comfortable on account of those we left behind, for she heard there was a cessation of arms for that night at least, which we were very glad to hear. Slept pretty well considering, and in the morning, as we could get no further, and hearing favorable news from town, concluded to return, which we did though it rained. Cut a very droll figure about the streets with our children, and in the evening when we heard they had come to terms of

capitulation and the rebels suffered to return home unchastized, though it filled many breasts with resentment against superiors for not permitting them to punish such rascals, yet I think ours was chiefly engrossed by more pleasing passions. Glad to find ourselves at home, and the town still and quiet as if there had been no such things, we could scarcely forbear laughing at the oddity of our adventure. Such is the unsteady, fluctuating disposition of the mind of man. One moment ready to sink under the shock of sudden tempest, the next sporting in the gales as if it had never been.

Till overtaken again with another alarm, as we were next day, though we had imagined all over. The town was in arms in a quarter of an hour and marched up towards the barracks, where the alarm came from and found it proceeded from a band of twelve men that were obliged to go by that way home.

The town's people seem very much in partys and very dissatisfied with what has been done. As I fear thee will be with the length of this letter, tho' I don't know how to help it, for I have not the knack of saying a great deal in a few words, and if it was not too late I would fill the remainder with say-sos, for I have heard more within these three or four days than I ever did within so short time of my life. I could not have thought people were so fertile of invention as I find they are. We shall know how to make allowance for that another time. The Paxon boys, which were only about 250 in number, were frequently said to be 400 or 500. The big meeting-house on Third Day, instead of having youths' meeting, as was expected, was appropriated to the use of the armed men to shelter them from the rain, when the men were exercising and the colors flying in the gallery, from where there has so often doctrine been preached against that very thing of bearing arms, etc., etc.

Our kind love and good wishes attend you, our dear sister and brother and your little ones, and that you may be long preserved from such tumults as we have lately felt, is the earnest desire of

SALLIE POTTS,
Your affectionate sister.

The use of the meeting house referred to in the letter seemed to create a great deal of excitement and talk both among Friends and their opponents. It probably hardly needs defense, but James Pemberton, in a private letter to an English correspondent, makes a very reasonable explanation:—

“On the second day of the inhabitants' mustering a heavy rain came on about ten o'clock, to which being exposed, some of them, not of our society, requested liberty to take shelter in the meeting (house), which, on consultation with some Friends, was allowed, and it would have appeared an act of unkindness to refuse it, as it faces the courthouse and market place, which were likewise filled by other companies, and it had

before been agreed, for avoiding the noise, to hold the youths' meeting of that day at one of the other houses."

The cases of the young Friends who took up arms were considered by the Monthly Meeting, and a vast amount of labor was bestowed upon them. Some of them confessed their transgression, and a large number declined to do so. After a continued effort of three or four years, the cases of all of them were allowed to drop. These proceedings will be found in full in the minutes of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting of 1764 and succeeding years.

Another effect of the affair was an outbreak of a violent pamphlet warfare as to the respective merits of Friends and Presbyterians in matters of government. Severe and in some cases scurrilous attacks were made. The interested reader will find these pamphlets by the score in the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and will appreciate how bitterly the mixture of religion and politics made men feel towards each other in those Colonial days.

A Correction

In the article in Bulletin No. 1 on "The Progress of the Temperance Cause Among Friends of Philadelphia" an error was made as to the relations between the (English) "Friends' Temperance Union" and the London Yearly Meeting. Frank Dymond, the secretary of the Union, writes me:—

"You are hardly correct in writing of the Friends' Temperance Union as 'the creature of the Yearly Meeting.' It is a distinct organization, appoints its own officers and committees and collects its own funds, but on the other hand is most cordially supported and encouraged by the Y. M., and has the right of laying any communication or propositions before the meeting that it wishes, and holds its annual meeting by established rule during Yearly Meeting week."

It is with great pleasure that I recall some of the particulars of the annual meeting of the "Union" held during Yearly Meeting week at Leeds in 1905. The Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress of Leeds had planned a reception for the Friends in attendance at the Yearly Meeting. The annual meeting of the Friends' Temperance Union had been appointed for the same evening. It was arranged that both should be held in the "City Art Galleries," the one at 7 and the other at 8 o'clock. I feared that there might be some interference of the one with the other, but there was none.

The Lord Mayor and his Lady were prompt to the time named and in the course of an hour took by the hands, according to estimate, about 1,500 Friends and others who had been invited. The central court had been prepared with seats for about 800 persons, and these were all occupied by 8 o'clock when the Lord Mayor and the Lady Mayoress, accompanied by the selected speakers, appeared on the platform. By invitation the Lord Mayor presided, and he made a most happy introductory address, welcoming the Friends to Leeds, and then branched out on the topic of the evening, with which he showed himself to be quite conversant. Most pleasant it was to his audience to hear him declare that he had been a total abstainer all his life.

Four addresses followed, all of them, I thought, much above the average quality usual on such occasions.

At the close of the meeting the Lord Mayor invited the com-

pany into the adjoining banquet room, where he had prepared for his guests a bountiful repast.

I do not know but that such an occasion was not without precedent among our English friends, but I have never known of any such elegant hospitality at Yearly Meeting time in any municipality this side the water.

JOSHUA L. BAILY.

Philadelphia, 1 Mo., 1907.

Notes

Can any one give information of a Life of William Penn, by Kennersley, published, presumably in London, about 1740? Agnes Strickland quotes it several times as authority in her *Queens of England*, but so far, no copy has yet been located by the inquirer.

A. M. G.

The old Coddington graveyard, in Newport, is a most quaint and interesting spot, with space for not more than twenty or twenty-five graves. The name "Coddington" is cut in the stone pillars of the gate, and along the little wall are the names of Governor Easton and several other Governors. William Coddington's tombstone is just inside the gate; the stone is very plain, and the inscription runs: "Erected by the citizens of the town of Newport, in memory of William Coddington, that illustrious man who purchased the island from the Narragansett Indians in 1639."

A. M. G.

SOME RECOLLECTIONS OF JOHN DICKINSON.

Our father used to tell us of John Dickinson, who was Governor of our State at one time, and lived at the corner of Market and Eighth Streets, Wilmington, Delaware, where our Public Library now stands. He was considered a great man in his day as a statesman and political writer, though not a very staunch Friend, as to peace principles.

He had for his daughter's use a "Narragansett pacer," upon whose back she often took the air as, with his head down, he swung gently along in a manner most pleasing and befitting a rather delicate, high-born maiden.

One day an elderly Friend called at the Dickinson mansion and wished to borrow the pony, to take him to Quarterly Meeting at Concord the next day. The Governor was willing to grant the request, but expressed some doubt, unless he were used to horses, of his ability to manage the pony.

The Friend, however, had no misgivings on that account; so the next day set off at a moderate and orthodox gait and, in good time for meeting, arrived at Concord.

Perhaps it held too long to suit the pony; at any rate the few hours had wrought a change in him, for, as the procession of Friends bound for Wilmington were making toward home, they were startled by the sound of rapid hoof-beats behind them, and soon pony and rider passed them at a flying pace; the pony's head and ears erect, the Friend with anxious face, his coat-skirts waving behind him, one hand gripping the broad brim of his hat, the other employed in a vain endeavor to curb the pony.

Long before the others he reached the Governor's door, relieved in mind but exhausted in body, and was never known to ask a similar favor.

As to John Dickinson's membership with Friends during the latter part of his life, I do not know, but have often heard that there was decided objection to receiving his money for Westtown because of his views about war.

LUCY R. TATUM.

REDEMPTIONERS.

Many respectable but impecunious persons who came out to the colonies before and immediately after the Revolution, were of two classes, i. e., *indented servants*, who had bound themselves to their masters for a term of years previous to their emigration from England, and "free willers," or *redemptioners*, who arranged with the captain to be sold on arrival, to repay the cost of passage and other expenses. From original bonds or agreements in the Pennsylvania Historical Society, the usual price for redemptioners for three years service was £21, 1s. 6d., and two suits of clothes, a grubbing hoe, a weeding hoe, and a new axe. Of course there came adventurers and undesirable people in this way. But many made solid citizens, and among them were many Friends, particularly from Ireland,

who, as indentured servants, could not be sold out of the Province of Pennsylvania without their own consent in open Court, or before a Justice of the Peace. Besides the articles named, those who came out with Penn received, upon the expiration of their term of service, permission to take up fifty acres of land at the rent of one shilling and a half penny an acre per annum. Sutcliff (Travels) says long after, in 1804, "I saw many families, particularly in Pennsylvania of great respectability both in our society and amongst others, who had come over themselves as redemptioners or were the children of such."

The "Pennsylvania Messenger" for January 18, 1774, advertises, "Germans; We are now offering fifty Germans just arrived, to be seen at the Golden Swan, kept by the widow Kreider. The lot includes schoolmasters, artisans, peasants, boys and girls of various ages, all to serve for payment of passage." D. von Bülow, in a Berlin publication in 1797, writes, "It is easy to sell the farmers but there are often men whom it is not so easy to dispose of, e. g., officers and scholars. I have seen a Russian captain offered for eight days for sale, and not a bid made. He had absolutely no market value. It was of no use for his owner to put him up again and again, to offer to make fifty per cent discount. 'He is good for nothing', was all the answer to the offer. The captain of the ship then had him walked about the town to show, but in vain. After waiting several weeks, he was finally sold at a ridiculously low price as a *village schoolmaster*." Pastor Kunz of Philadelphia (according to Dr. Hopp), in 1773 wrote home that he was beginning to economize in order to get together twenty pounds, as he wanted to buy a German student for a teacher! A. M. G.

EXTRACT FROM THE WILL OF PETER YARNALL

[Copied from the Record of Wills, Philadelphia, by George Canby.

For an account of Peter Yarnall, see "Biographical Sketches and Anecdotes of Friends," page 259. Some statements in this account will have to be modified in the light of this extract. Can any tell the final application of this fund?—I. S.]

ITEM—and as during the time of the Revolution in America I entered on board a privateer vessel called the Holker as Sergin during which cruise sundry captures were made and from the Sails thereof I received the usual number of Shares allotted to Surgeon, but owing to the great depreciation of Continental

Currency at that time my share of the prize Money was much less than otherwise would have been. I do apprehend that the Value of such Goods as according to the rules of Privateering became my share might have been estimated at eight hundred Pounds or one thousand tho' I believe I did not receive more then fore or five hundred Pounds Spece the exact sum I do not remember—but it has been my determination since the Lord visited my Heart by his grace, and hath hown me the unlawfulness of War in every shape and it still remains my intention to do Justice to all who I may have injured in the Captures above mentioned as far as may be ascertained and my Estate may admit of now or hereafter—The bequests heretofore named to my dear wife & child & the bequests to the children of my former wife to wit Mordecai Rebecca Peter Israel & Benjamin being first complied with I conceive to be truly Just, and if my Estate in the village of Hatborough is not sold before my decease it is my desire that it may be sold as soon after as it may be convenient and I do direct that the remaining part of my Estate be made the best of and appropriated to make restitution for the prize Monies received by me till it be done and if the owners of the captured property cannot be found or their Heirs the Moneys to be disposed of in such way as a considerable number of my solid Bretheren may Judge to be consistunt with that righteous testimony we have to bear as a religious society—and all the residue and remainder of my Estate of whatever real or personal I bequeath to my Children by my former wife in equal division or dividend and in regard to my dear Children it is my desire and intreaty that they may be brought up by proper persons of our religious persuasion truly concerned to educate them in a religious and virtuous life having nothing more at heart then the spiritual welfare of my Children it is therefore my request that my son Mordecai be with his uncle Joshua Sharpless till of fit age to go to a suitable Trade at the discretion of my Exers or Guardian, and the rest of my sons to be put to such places where they may get proper learning & a suitable education consistant with our religious persuasion, and to guard against as much as may be of taking their portions for bringing them up, which is submitted to the use of the Guardians herein mentioned, with the consent of their Grandmother, and I do appoint my truly and well beloved Brother Joshua Sharpless

my beloved friend Henry Drinker, William Savery, John Spencer 2nd & Samuel Gummery Guardians to my Children, also my beloved brother Joshua Sharpless, my dear friend John Spencer Junr and my dearly beloved Wife Hannah Yarnall Exors to this my last Will and Testament.

In Testimony whereof I do this seventeenth day of the Second Month One Thousand Seven hundred and ninety eight set my Hand and Seal thereunto.

List of Members

A number of names have been added to our list since the last Bulletin was issued, a few members have withdrawn, and a few errors were made in initials or addresses. It is believed that this list correctly represents the membership at this time.

- Acton, Martha W., 503 Hansberry St., Germantown, Pa.
 Albertson, Mary A., 3940 Brown St., Phila.
 Allen, Elizabeth R., Moorestown, N. J.
 Allen, Dr. Mary E., 1245 South 49th St., Phila.
 Allen, Samuel L., Moorestown, N. J.
 Allen, Sarah P., Moorestown, N. J.
 Alsop, David G., 409 Chestnut St., Phila.
 Alsop, Margaretta S., Haverford, Pa.
- Bacon, Anna D., Ashley, Torresdale, Phila.
 Bacon, Helen R., Ashley, Torresdale, Phila.
 Bailey, Annie T., 206 Hanover St., Trenton, N. J.
 Bailey, George, Jr., Jefferson Medical College Hospital, Phila.
 Baily, Albert L., Haverford, Pa.
 Baily, Joshua L., 32 South 15th St., Phila., or Ardmore, Pa.
 Baily, Wm. L., 421 Chestnut St., Phila.
 Balderston, Elizabeth P., 1835 Arch St., Phila.
 Barrett, D. C., Haverford, Pa.
 Barrett, M. F., Haverford, Pa.
 Bartlett, Jane W., 234 North 20th St., Phila.
 Bartlett, J. Henry, 234 North 20th St., Phila.
 Bell, Albert T., "Chalfonte," Atlantic City, N. J.
 Biddle, Elizabeth, 1427 Arch St., Phila.
 Biddle, John W., Media, Pa.
 Biddle, Samuel, 1427 Arch St., Phila.
 Branson, Frances B. G., Rosemont, Pa.
 Branson, Thomas F., M. D., Rosemont, Pa.
 Brinton, Walter, Frankford, Pa.
 Brown, David J., 446 Church Lane, Germantown, Pa.
 Brown, Henry T., Moorestown, N. J.
 Brown, Mary Willets, 176 West Coulter St., Germantown, Pa.
 Brown, Robert P., 176 West Coulter St., Germantown, Pa.
- Cadbury, Emma, 1633 Race St., Phila.
 Cadbury, Joel, 1502 Green St., Phila.
 Cadbury, Richard T., 409 Chestnut St., Phila.
 Carter, Abbie G., Media, Pa.
 Carter, John Pim, Media, Pa.
 Cheyney, J. S., Jr., Straight Creek, Ky.
 Child, Lucy B., 6th and Noble Sts., Phila.
 Comfort, Henry W., Fallsington, Pa.

Comfort, Howard, 529 Arch St., Phila.
 Comfort, Lydia P., Fallsington, Pa.
 Comfort, Susan W., Knox St., Germantown, Pa.
 Cope, Francis R., Jr., "Awbury," Germantown, Pa.
 Cope, Thomas P., Jr., "Awbury," Germantown, Pa.
 Craige, William C., 409 Chestnut St., Phila.

Deweese, Sarah L. B., Frankford, Phila.
 Dewees, Watson W., 228 Market St., Phila.
 Dillingham, John H., 140 North 16th St., Phila.

Eastburn, Samuel C., Langhorne, Pa.
 Elfreth, Jacob R., Lansdowne, Pa.
 Elkinton, Eleanor R., Media, Pa.
 Elkinton, Joseph, Media, Pa.
 Emlen, James, 121 West Coulter St., Germantown, Pa.
 Emlen, John T., Penn St., Germantown, Pa.
 Emlen, Samuel, 121 West Coulter St., Germantown, Pa.
 Emlen, Sarah, 121 West Coulter St., Germantown, Pa.
 Evans, Edward W., "Awbury," Germantown, Pa.
 Evans, Ernest M., "Awbury," Germantown, Pa.
 Evans, F. Algernon, "Awbury," Germantown, Pa.
 Evans, Hannah B., Locust Ave., Germantown, Pa.
 Evans, Harold, "Awbury," Germantown, Pa.
 Evans, Jonathan, "Awbury," Germantown, Pa.
 Evans, William, 205 East Central Ave., Moorestown, N. J.

Gamber, Benjamin F., 1034 Pine St., Phila.
 Garrett, Alfred C., Church Lane, Germantown, Pa.
 Garrett, Eleanor E., Church Lane, Germantown, Pa.
 Garrett, John B., Rosemont, Pa.
 Garrett, Martha H., 5353 Greene St., Germantown, Pa.
 Gibbons, William H., Ardmore, Pa.
 Grantham, Alice South, 1527 Poplar St., Phila.
 Gummere, Amelia Mott, Haverford, Pa.

Haines, Anna Wistar, Pulaski Ave., Germantown, Pa.
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Leeds, Josiah W., West Chester, Pa.

Leeds, Lydia R., 162 South Pennsylvania Ave., Atlantic City, N. J.

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Moon, James M., Fallsington Pa.

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 Nicholson, Mary P., Haverford, Pa.
 Nicholson, Sarah, Haddonfield, N. J.
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 Stokes, Martha E., Moorestown, N. J.
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NATHAN HUNT

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia

Contents

Frontispiece—Portrait of Nathan Hunt.

Editorial Note, *Allen C. Thomas*, Page 88

Notes and Queries:— Page 88

Marriage of William Coddington; The George Fox
Lot in Philadelphia; The Fraudulent "Letter from
Cotton Mather regarding William Penn"; Pre-
Revolutionary Customs in Philadelphia; Examples
of Early Needlework desired. Timothy Davis.

Nathan Hunt and his Times, *Mary Mendenhall
Hobbs*, Page 92

David Sands in Maine, 1779, 1795, Page 112

Letters from Joseph Wing, 1796, 1798, furnished by
M. G. D., Page 113

The Setting up of Ohio Yearly Meeting, 1812, Page 117
(Extracts from the Minutes of Baltimore Yearly Meet-
ing.)

William Rotch and John Hancock, Page 120

List of Additional Members, Page 121

All communications should be addressed to Allen C. Thomas, Editor,
Haverford, Pa.

A copy of this Bulletin is furnished gratuitously to each member.
Additional copies at 30 cents each.

Editorial Note

In assuming the editorship of THE BULLETIN the editor solicits the co-operation of all interested in the ends for which this journal has been established: (1) the printing and preservation of hitherto unpublished or rare documents, letters and journals, and also any material relating to the history of The Friends, whether general or local, that seems worthy of publication; (2) the publishing of historical and biographical papers on subjects connected with Friends, or in some way allied with them; (3) as a medium for the interchange of views on historical topics; (4) as an information bureau for historical and biographical questions and matters.

Brief items are specially desired, for they are not only interesting in themselves, but they also often lead to further research and discussion, and sometimes bring to light valuable material which might otherwise be lost sight of.

It is hoped to issue from two to three numbers of THE BULLETIN per year, as material may justify.

An account of the early history of Indiana Yearly Meeting, by Charles F. Coffin, will appear in the next number of THE BULLETIN.

Notes and Queries

MARRIAGE OF WILLIAM CODDINGTON

In Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*, Vol. I, p. 301 (1857), "Primitive Courts and Trials," the following rather surprising item is found:

"In 1693—Indian Ben petitions the Court for his freedom—States that he was originally a native Indian of New England, *brought from Rhode Island by William Coddington, Esq.*—that after his death, the widow¹ became the wife of Robert Ewer,²

¹Anne Coddington, 2d wife of Gov. William Coddington and author of the appealing letter to Gov. Endicot, copied in Besse, Vol. 2, p. 207, does not appear to be laid in the Coddington burial plot at Newport, referred to in last issue of THE BULLETIN.

²Robert Ewer, is spoken of elsewhere by Watson, as "A Public Friend," and by Bowden in his *History of Friends in America*, in Vol. 2, p. 52, as travelling in 1694 "in the work of the ministry in the Colonies in the South."

(a Friend, owner of Black Horse Alley), who now holds him still to service. He prays release, etc.”

Is there any record of this marriage in Friends' Annals?

M. G. S.

THE GEORGE FOX LOT IN PHILADELPHIA

In the Memoir of George Fox, by Wm. and Thos. Evans, Friends' Library, Vol. I, p. 104, the following passage occurs:

“A piece of ground which he (Geo. Fox) owned near Philadelphia he gave for a botanical garden, for ‘the lads and lasses of the city to walk in, and learn the habits and uses of the plants.’ ”

What has become of this gift of Geo. Fox?

New York.

INQUIRER.

THE SO-CALLED “LETTER FROM COTTON MATHER REGARDING WILLIAM PENN”

The above named letter has been going the rounds of the newspapers again; it appears to come to the front about once in five years. The daily newspapers, as before, have, as a rule, been deceived by it, and even some of the Friends' journals have republished it. There is no doubt whatsoever that the whole thing is a fraud. It carries on its face the presumption of forgery. It bears the date of 1682. At that time Cotton Mather was but nineteen years old, and, though he was a very precocious youth, it is not at all likely that he would have written in such a strain or on such a subject at that age. The Rev. John Higginson is addressed as being of Newport, Rhode Island, whereas he was the minister at Salem, Massachusetts. Moreover, the style is not like that of Cotton Mather.

There is, however, the statement of one whose knowledge of the circumstances of Penn's life was unsurpassed—the late Howard M. Jenkins, of Philadelphia. On the very day before his lamented death he wrote the following note to the editor of *The Friend* (Philadelphia):¹

“Friends' Intelligencer, 10/10/02.

“Dear Friend:—

“The ‘Cotton Mather letter’ was a hoax—an absolute for-

¹The Friend, 10th Mo. 18, 1902.

gery—by a man named Shunk, of Easton, Pa. Its character has been again and again stated—several times in this journal.²

“Very truly,

“HOWARD M. JENKINS.”

As a means of identification, one of the newspaper reproductions is here given:

PLOT AGAINST WILLIAM PENN

ANCIENT LETTER TO NEWPORTER LAYS BARE THE SCHEME TO SELL HIM INTO
SLAVERY.

The controversy over the question whether Cotton Mather, of Boston, entered into a plot to capture William Penn and the first colony of Quakers and sell them as slaves in the Barbadoes has been settled, it is said, by the finding of the letter from Mather to John Higginson, of Newport. The document, in the possession of George A. Reynolds, Clerk of the Fire Board of Hartford, shows that the letter of Cotton Mather was as follows:

“Boston, Sept. ye 15th, 1682.

“TO YE AGED AND BELOVED JOHN HIGGINSON.

“There be at sea a shippe called ‘Ye Welcome,’ R. Greenaway, Master, which has aboard an hundred or more of ye heretics and malignants called Quakers, with W. Penne, who is ye chief scampe, at the head of them. Ye General Court has accordingly given secret orders to Master Malachi Huxett of ye brig Propasse to wallaye sed ‘Welcome’ as near ye coast of Codde as may be and make captive ye said Penne and his ungodly crewe so that ye Lord may be glorified and not mocked on the soil of this new countre with ye heathen worships of these people.

“Much spoyle may be made by selling ye whole lot to Barbadoes, where slaves fetch goode prices in rumme and sugar, and shall not only do ye Lord great service in punishing the wicked, but we shall make great good for his ministers and people. Master Huxett feels hopeful, and I will set down ye news when his shippe comes back. Yours in ye bowels of Christ.

“COTTON MATHER.”

PRE-REVOLUTIONARY CUSTOMS IN PHILADELPHIA

Friends in Philadelphia in pre-Revolutionary times availed themselves of the bake-houses for the accommodation of the public. These were a continuation of the London custom. Family dishes were sent to be baked, and the trouble and expense of a built-in oven, with all its paraphernalia, were thus avoided in a small family. One of these bake-houses stood at the corner of

²A search in the files of the *Intelligencer* has failed to find the articles referred to.—ED.

Second and Dock streets, where shallops, with falling masts to avoid the low bridge, discharged flour.

Upon this same corner, to the year 1695, a cowherd stood every morning early and blew his horn. The cows gathered, standing until all were assembled, and then passed at the word of command, to the green pastures in the country—near Broad Street Station, probably!! In the evening the picturesque procession came wandering back, the cowherd blew his horn, the house-keepers opened their gates, and the cows, at another blast, went each to her stall.

EXAMPLES OF EARLY NEEDLEWORK DESIRED

The undersigned would be glad to locate any examples of Quaker needlework earlier than 1730. Samplers are especially important and interesting, and it is desired to increase our knowledge of domestic arts by a study of the accomplishments with the needle of our early Quaker settlers in America. Information on this subject will be very welcome.

Haverford, Pa.

AMELIA M. GUMMERE.

TIMOTHY DAVIS

In connection with the reference to Timothy Davis in the letter of Joseph Wing (see page 114) the following extract from the Memoir of Henry Hull (1765-1834) will be interesting. Henry Hull was a minister of New York Yearly Meeting. He writes in Eighth Month 1795, after naming several places he had visited in New England: "At the last of which (Long Plain) was Samuel Wetherill, a preacher among those who separated from Friends in Philadelphia, known by the name of Free Quakers. He had taken a voyage into these parts for the purpose of discouraging Timothy Davis from returning back to the Society of Friends. Timothy was once a favored minister in the Society, but had separated from it, and drawn many away with him; but being made sensible of his error, he had offered an acknowledgement, condemning his conduct, and was reinstated in membership. "Henry Hull, Philadelphia, 1873," pp. 68, 169.

The name of Timothy Davis appears in the list of the Free Quakers as given by Charles Wetherill in his "Free Quakers," Philadelphia, 1895, p. 112. T. D. is put down as having joined in 1782. His disownment was due to his support of war.

Nathan Hunt and His Times

BY MARY MENDENHALL HOBBS.

In traditional Quaker history within the limits of North Carolina Yearly Meeting there is no name more revered than that of Nathan Hunt. He was regarded by the men and women of the past generation with a veneration given to prophets and seers, and they handed on his memory to their children as one far above the rank and file as minister and religious leader, and as one not only interested in everything which promoted the good of humanity, but one who threw his powers of mind and body into all philanthropic efforts of his time, which were within his reach.

He must have been a most remarkable man to have left the impress he did upon his own and the succeeding generation, and it is to be regretted that so little of real historical value can be found concerning him. One small volume containing sketches of the lives of William and Nathan Hunt,* prepared by their monthly meetings as memorials, together with several letters from the same, is all which is historically exact. "Reminiscences," prepared for *The Christian Worker* several years ago by David Hunt, of Lynn, Mass., a grandson of Nathan Hunt, born and reared in the house with his grandfather, is full of interest and doubtless is, in the main, authentic; but it was written from memory, and, while the occurrences are undoubtedly facts, the long discourses reported after such a lapse of years give one the impression that they may or may not be the very words of Nathan Hunt. It is, however, by far the fullest record that can be found in regard to the life of one who occupied for a long period of years the most prominent place in North Carolina Yearly Meeting. I may say, too, that nearly every one of the incidents related by his grandson are those which we have heard rehearsed over and over by our parents and grandparents, and are thus substantiated. The "Memoirs and Letters" contain much spiritual instruction, but very meagre accounts of the temporal affairs and occupations of the two men. Still, they faithfully represent the Quakerism of their day, which looked little to the outward, but regarded the tender spirit and obedient heart, the individual guidance of the Holy Spirit as of far more weight than worldly possessions or personal comfort.

* "Memoirs of William and Nathan Hunt, Philadelphia, 1858.

During Nathan Hunt's young manhood, the War of the Revolution was waged, and his home was within a few miles of Guilford Court House, where an important battle was fought; and yet we only have the slightest reference to those times in anything from his pen. We know from other sources that he suffered no small losses, being robbed of cattle and provisions, and was at one time reduced almost to want: all of which he bore with Christian patience and fortitude. The army of Greene, as well as that of Cornwallis, without doubt passed very near, if they did not actually traverse, his farm, as it was between the old New Garden Meeting House and the battlefield, and all intervening territory was skirmish ground. The meeting house was used as a hospital, and fifteen British soldiers lie buried under the great white oak in the Friends' burial ground. But no word of all this is recorded in letter, or, indeed, in the Minutes of New Garden Monthly Meeting.

Only one brief record of anything pertaining to all those stirring days is found in the book of Minutes. The Friends went on marrying and giving in marriage, and disowning people for marrying out and other offences, apparently absorbed in such matters, heedless of the mighty movements throbbing about them. Of course, in their daily lives these things must have affected them, but it is part of Quaker nature, I fancy, to be abstracted from the things of time and sense. George Fox went from one end of England to the other during the most stirring times the realm ever witnessed, and leaves almost no record of them except as they affected his own ministry.

It is very difficult to go back in imagination to the times of Nathan Hunt. Those of us who were living before the Civil War can scarcely picture to ourselves the country and customs which existed then, and the days of Nathan Hunt reach back twice as far again. Forests covered nearly the whole of the country, and from these the red man had not been entirely driven away. Wild animals and game of all kinds were abundant and every man who amounted to anything was a fine marksman. Shooting contests were common occurrences and prizes of various sorts were awarded—turkeys, fat pigs, etc.—for the one who could oftenest hit the mark. Huge trees of oak, hickory, walnut, maple, beech, black and sweet gum, ash and poplar, and many other varieties covered the ground in a dense growth. These were to be felled

and land cleared for cultivation. The logs needed for buildings were to be hewn, the others rolled into great piles and burned to get rid of them. These "log rollin's" were social occasions, as were "corn shuckin's," and great preparations were made for them in the housewives' department. Everything was to be done, and strong arms and willing hands were ready and eager for the doing.

These early settlers came from Pennsylvania at the same time that the Scotch-Irish emigration took place. They were English with an admixture of Welsh and Scotch, as the names common at that time plainly show. Central Carolina, with its vast forests and abundant streams, its fertile soil and delightful climate, enticed them. The Quaker immigrants settled in Guilford, Randolph and surrounding counties, which at that time were known as Iredell County. Lord Carteret, Earl of Granville, deeded them lands, and trees were branded to mark the boundaries. It is interesting to picture to ourselves how these people formed self-sufficient communities. If a neighborhood stood in need of some profession or handicraft which was not forthcoming, young men were sent back to Pennsylvania to acquire the trade and came home to prosecute their calling. My own grandfather and a brother were thus sent to Chester, the original American home of the family, to learn the potters' and the tanners' trade, while their sister was sent to Germantown to be educated in order that she might conduct a school for young ladies. Almost every community was thus independent.

Grist mills were numerous: the splendid water power was at once harnessed to this end, but sawmills were few, and planing mills were unknown. The boards for floors and "gum ceilings" were planed by hand and most of the houses were of hewn logs, though a few brick houses were built before the Revolutionary War.

The manner of life was simple and very hospitable, and as most of the colonists were pretty well educated, the society was intelligent and eager for the news from the outside world, which was far, far away. There were no railroads, and it was some time before the plank roads, over which the huge stage coaches lumbered, were built from one large town to another. Travelers were welcomed, and a private letter from the "folks at home," so soon as the recipient himself could read it, was regarded as public

property. There was little money in the country and such stores as there were, were "Cash and Barter," and mostly barter. My own grandmother wove cloth of flax and wool, and rode on horse-back twenty miles carrying the same to the old Moravian town, Salem, and there exchanged her barter for the silk to make her wedding gown. Sheep were kept, and from their fleece were made the stout woolen garments for winter wear. The women and men shared in most of these tasks. The sheep-shearing was usually done about the middle of May; then during the evenings the family picked the wool, and afterwards the women carded, spun and wove it. Every family owned the necessary implements for this work, and all through the summer and fall the busy buzz of the wheels could be heard from every home. Later the looms were banging, and there was great pride in seeing how many hanks a day could be spun or how many yards of cloth could be rolled around the cloth-beam. These clothes lasted long, as did the home-made shoes, and boots, and hats.

David Beard was the hatter for all this part of the country, and his hats never wore out; they lasted and lasted until they became thoroughly identified with the owner.*

The early settlers do not seem to have been familiar with the cultivation of cotton. Flax was the fibre they employed for summer clothing, and some of the bed ticks woven in those days are still in existence, if not in that same form, even yet good, substantial cloth. Everything was hand-made—wagons, carriages, all parts of the machinery of mills and looms and spinning wheels; all tools, as plows and hoes, rakes and spades. Every community boasted a cabinet maker, who made the bedsteads, bureaus, corner cupboards, tables and chairs. Clocks were often made at home, and it is surprising how some of these stand the test of time, and unto this day continue to keep abreast the passing hours. They have lived through the stagecoach period and through the rushing railroad flyers, and are still ticking serenely away while automobiles puff and wheeze, and airships are projected. Some clocks were imported from England and only the cases made from our Carolina walnut.

Fayetteville, on the Cape Fear River, was the nearest port, and "waginning to Fayette" was a regular business. Not many goods were imported other than the fine qualities of dress goods

*The hat worn by Nathan Hunt is now in the museum at Guilford College.

and sugar, coffee, tea, molasses, etc. Few carpets were used, and these were woven of rags on the looms at home. Books, too, were scarce, and were loaned around until it was difficult to say where any certain one could be found. Schools were a very uncertain quantity, but somehow most of the children acquired quite "a good bit of larnin" and developed into a strong, sturdy race of people with sterling character.

They were the freest of the free, and were not molested by the native tribes nor the English government; and could they have kept their borders clear of that blight of civilization—*slavery*—the land might have become a veritable Garden of Eden. It came and conquered, and has left in its fell wake confusion and resentment, together with grievous burdens and problems. The Friends participated in the plunder, and the account of their awakening to the iniquity of the traffic and their steady and courageous fight is one of the most interesting episodes of Southern Quakerism.

Although this occurred during the lifetime of Nathan Hunt, and he himself was one of the most outspoken and valiant anti-slavery leaders, it is much too long a story to tell in this connection. It was the Quaker battlefield for near a hundred years, and gave North Carolina Yearly Meeting its severest discipline and deepest concern, and seriously affected its growth and influence. The presence of slavery in North Carolina dispersed our members over the entire West, whither they fled to found homes and meetings and schools upon free soil.

But to return to the early days. The home of Nathan Hunt was a typical Quaker home. As the centre of a large social circle, relatives and friends came unannounced and were welcomed to such as the family was provided with. They came often long distances in carriages and wagons, and made quite extended visits. "Visiting Friends" in particular were welcome guests, and the best the household afforded was placed at their disposal. "This is thy home so long as thou wilt honor it with thy presence," was not a formal but a true expression.

The various meetings of the society were looked forward to and arranged for as great social as well as religious events. For days before Quarterly Meetings the homes were active in preparation. The arts of the housewives were exhibited with no little pride in the variety of cakes and pies and various viands, baked and stored for these occasions. Most of the cooking was done

over the fire in large fireplaces. The larger homes had brick ovens built in some convenient spot outside, where quarters of beef, a dozen chickens, a saddle of mutton, etc., might be roasted. In these, too, bread and pies and cakes were baked in great quantities; for sweets, honey was used extensively. Every home had its "stands" of bees. Apple butter was made, but not so many jellies and preserves as we provide nowadays. Apples, peaches, pears and cherries were dried in great quantities, and the forest nuts were gathered, hulled and dried for winter store.

In the "Reminiscences of Nathan Hunt," above referred to, the wide piazza is often mentioned, and in most homes this was the family sitting room for three-fourths of the year. It was usually large enough to accommodate not only the family but numerous visitors, and here all gathered in the evening for social converse. If there was some particular work on hand, such as fruit-drying, all hands helped; apples or peaches would be placed in tubs and boxes, and the men and boys peeled while the women folks quartered the fruit and took out the core. During the winter months the logs blazed in the huge fireplaces and the apples "sputtered in a row," and cider drinking was as common as in Whittier's Snow-Bound days. Here, locust beer was also a famous beverage, and most families had tubs of locusts and persimmons fermenting to make this drink. They drank a good deal of stronger stuff, too, and kept decanters of a fluid we abjure on their sideboards, and barrels and kegs of it in their cellars. This was home-made and unadulterated. If a Friend was too poor to provide the necessary refreshment in the way of whiskey or brandy for his harvesters, the meeting appropriated the money to him. From all the accounts of their doings to which I have listened, why they were not all drunkards is more than I can make out. Our meetings nowadays would be kept busy dealing with such people as were then the leaders in society, but they would have had us all disowned long ago "for not appearing as Friends" and for "marrying out" or "marrying contrary to the good order of our society." They adhered to plainness in dress and address, as we learn from their records, and yet their ideas of plainness would not correspond with our own; for I was told by my dear great-aunt, Delphina E. Mendenhall, that she, as a girl, saw a man at meeting dressed in a pea-green Quaker coat and pink pants. Evidently colors were not regarded as now, and the conventional

drab was not insisted upon. If anyone desired, she might wear green or yellow, red or blue, provided the garment conformed to a certain cut. Think of it! owning slaves, drinking what whiskey they wanted, and going clad as the rainbow, but Quakers still!

There was a dignity and solemnity about their meetings for worship which we are in danger of losing, and an earnestness and zeal in the business meetings which we would do well to imitate. They were true to their convictions; and when once convinced that slavery and whiskey were wrong, they cut them off regardless of consequences.

They were staunch supporters of their peace principles and generally refrained from bearing arms during the Revolution. They may and may not have been quite as peaceable and as long-suffering as were George Fox and Barclay. I have the tradition of one worthy elder who was so incensed at something which was said to another during business meeting that when he spoke of it in the meeting-house yard, he said, "If he had said such a thing to me I should have knocked his head a Sabbath day's journey from his body." Rather strenuous Quaker doctrine, but fact; and such people were Friends.

We occasionally hear some rather startling expressions from Nathan Hunt himself, and it is well for us to understand his environment and something of the times in which he lived.

Nathan Hunt was the son of William Hunt, whose father, Jacob, must have come to this country during the early settlements. He was not a Friend. He settled on Rancocas Creek, in New Jersey, and there, in 1733, William was born. Soon after the birth of this son, Jacob Hunt removed to Pennsylvania, where he died while William was a lad. The family was soon scattered, William going to live with an aunt in Maryland, who was a very strict Friend. He never joined the society, but was simply accepted by common consent, as he was a very serious, religiously-minded child. He began speaking in meeting during his fifteenth year. The elders kindly encouraged him and his gift developed very rapidly. He himself considered that his progress was too fast, as it led him into a feeling of vanity which, for the time being, destroyed his power. After a season the call was renewed and he had his work all to do over again, but at last became one of the most eminent ministers of his time.

He was a first cousin of John Woolman and shared the sin-

gle-hearted devotion of that saintly man. William Hunt came to Carolina about the time of his majority and settled on a farm about two miles from the present New Garden meeting house. He was one of the earliest Friends of this meeting, and was so dedicated to the service of the Master that at one time he had preached in nearly all the Friends' meeting houses of America and frequently appointed meetings where none were usually held.

Though he had a large family in great measure dependent upon his industry and care, yet, when called by a conviction of duty, he cheerfully resigned them and his worldly concerns to the protection of his bountiful Master upon whose guardianship he had been taught to rely. In the year 1771, in company with his nephew, Thomas Thornburg, he went on a religious visit to London Yearly Meeting. He visited Friends in England, Scotland, Ireland and Holland, but was not able to finish the work which he had undertaken. He died of smallpox on the 9th of the Ninth month, 1772. He was thirty-nine years of age, and left a wife and eight children, of whom Nathan Hunt, born 26th of Tenth month, 1758, was the third, and so in his fourteenth year at the time of his father's death. His father's character impressed him deeply and he cherished the memory of his dignity "and manner about the home," and of his earnest devotion to known duty.

John Woolman, who was in England at the time of the death of William Hunt and who also died of the same disease a few weeks afterwards, makes the following mention of the event:

"At this place I heard that my kinsman, William Hunt, from North Carolina, who was on a religious visit to Friends in England, departed this life on the 9th of this [Ninth] month, of the smallpox at Newcastle. He appeared in the ministry when a youth, and his labors therein were of good savor. He traveled much in that work in America. I once heard him say in public testimony that his concern was in that visit to be devoted to the service of Christ so fully that he might not spend one minute in pleasing himself, which words, joined with his example, were a means of stirring up the pure mind in me."

In a letter from William Hunt to his cousin, Uriah Woolman, written during this visit, he thus alludes to John Woolman:

"We parted with dear cousin John two days since, who was then as well as usual. He has great and acceptable service here. The singularity of his appearance is not only strange, but very

exercising to many valuable Friends who have had several opportunities of conference with him. The purity of his ministry gains universal approbation. I hope he stands on that foundation which will bear him through all."

At the time of his father's death Nathan Hunt was a lively boy, full of fun and "the ring-leader in mirth and jollity." Serious impressions fastened themselves upon his mind even in the midst of gayety. At seventeen he felt distinctly called to the ministry, and he believed that the time had come for him to speak in meeting. He does not appear to have been faithful to these impressions, but was led into jovial companionship. He was, however, preserved from gross sins. Although he was in some degree drawn away from the rather rigorous exactness of those days, he remarks that he was preserved in plainness of dress and address. I well remember hearing those who heard him preach say that he always insisted upon the necessity of adherence to these matters, which certainly appeared of much more importance in those days than in our own.

Nathan Hunt was married at the age of twenty to Martha Ruckman, and continued to reside upon the family homestead at New Garden. Soon after his marriage his mother died suddenly, and this event awakened serious thoughts within his mind, which were more strongly impressed upon him by a very serious illness of his own, in which his friends despaired of his life. During this illness we have the first record of that mystic vision which he frequently experienced thereafter. A large field of service in the ministry now opened before him. In his twenty-seventh year he first appeared in the ministry in Tennessee, and afterward in his home-meeting.

Some of the early experiences as related when he himself was an aged man, in the hearing of his grandson, are very interesting and doubtless true to fact:

"There were few schools in those days and I never went to school but six months in my life. A Presbyterian minister named David Caldwell, who lived three miles from our home, told me to come to his library and get any book I wanted, and when I had read it, return it and get another. When we were going home from our daily work we would pick up pine knots and dry sticks of wood; and when we had done our chores, would collect around the blazing fagots and read our books. I observed the language

of the books and cultivated the habit of using it in my common conversation. The consequence was that I was often taken for a learned man. I spent much of my time in reading the Bible."

He gave this account of his mother's faithfulness after the death of his father:

"The death of my father left my widowed mother with a family of children to care for. My brother Isaiah, being the eldest, at once assumed the position of general caretaker. We had many difficulties and trials to contend with. The country was thinly settled. The meeting house was some two miles away, and when meeting day came my mother would ride the horse, with one child before and another behind her, while the older ones walked. She never failed to attend meeting when she was able to do so, and though she never spoke in any of our meetings, the action of her daily life was a continual sermon to me."

"We had many hard struggles during the Revolutionary War. The battle of Guilford Court House was about five miles from our house and the British army passed in sight of us. We often had to hide our horses and cattle from scouting parties of both armies, and yet with all our care at one time both my horses were taken by the British soldiers, and at another time my only cow was driven away."

Not long after the close of the Revolutionary War, his wife died and he was left in very trying circumstances, with six small children to care for. After three years he married Prudence Thornburg, and shortly afterwards removed to Piney Woods Meeting in Davidson County, within the limits of Springfield Monthly Meeting. Very soon after settling there he was acknowledged as a minister and his entire life thereafter was dedicated to the church in the service of his Master.

As his family was dependent upon his labor for sustenance, a call for service which took him from home was a very serious thing and caused him great anxiety; but he says that while following his plow he one day heard his name distinctly called twice, "Nathan, Nathan." On looking about no one could be discerned, and presently a great calm possessed his soul, and these words, without the voice, seemed impressed upon him: "Go and thou shalt lack nothing; neither shall thy family." Which promise was abundantly fulfilled and his faith strengthened.

In all his subsequent labors his wife was of great assistance

as he himself testifies—"a true helpmeet, always giving me up cheerfully to attend to my religious engagements and encouraging me therein, taking charge of my concerns at home and managing them with ability."

An extract from the memorial volume gives in short compass a resume of his religious visits, which extended over the American meetings and to London Yearly Meeting:

"In the year 1797 he obtained a minute of unity and concurrence to appoint meetings westward as far as Lost Creek, in the State of Tennessee. In the year 1798 he obtained a certificate, liberating him to perform a religious visit to Friends and others in the Northern and Eastern States, which visits he performed in the following year. In the years 1801, 1802 and 1803 he was engaged in attending and appointing meetings within the limits of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, and in attending Virginia Yearly Meeting, and some of the meetings belonging thereto. In the year 1804 he obtained a certificate and performed a religious visit to the inhabitants of the Northern and Eastern States. In the year 1805 he was engaged in visiting the Western Quarterly Meeting, and appointing some meetings adjacent thereto. Also, attended Baltimore Yearly Meeting, and some meetings in Maryland and Virginia. From 1805 to 1810 he was mostly engaged in visiting meetings belonging to North Carolina Yearly Meeting, and appointing meetings within the limits of the different Quarterly Meetings, and some out from amongst Friends. In the year 1810 he obtained a certificate liberating him to perform a religious visit to the inhabitants of Western Virginia, the Middle States, some Indian Tribes, Canada, and the eastern part of New England, which visit he performed in the year 1811. In this year he removed from Piney Woods and settled near Springfield, in Guilford county, of which Monthly Meeting he continued a member during the rest of his life. From 1811 to 1814 his religious services were within the limits of North Carolina Yearly Meeting in attending meetings, visiting families and appointing meetings from amongst Friends. In the year 1814 he obtained a certificate and performed a religious visit to Friends in parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana, and in the year 1815 he performed a religious visit to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Virginia and elsewhere.

During the years 1816 and 1817 he was mostly engaged in

appointing meetings in the adjacent neighborhoods, and attending the Western and Westfield Quarterly Meetings.

In the year 1818 he obtained the necessary certificates liberating him to perform a religious visit to Friends and others in Great Britain and Ireland; but, in consequence of affliction in his family, he was prevented from performing said visit until the years 1820 and 1821, in which years that service was accomplished.

From 1822 to 1831 his religious services were mostly within the limits of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, during which time he twice visited Bush River Meeting in South Carolina, and once Newbern and Beaufort.

In 1831, being under appointment from the Yearly Meeting to attend Virginia Yearly Meeting, and a General Conference of Friends in Philadelphia, he obtained a certificate and performed a religious visit to the Yearly Meetings of Virginia, New England and Ohio, and appointed meetings on his way going and returning. From all these visits he returned with satisfactory testimonials of the unity of Friends among whom he traveled.

In the year 1832 he obtained a certificate to perform a religious visit to Indiana Yearly Meeting and some of the meetings constituting it, but on account of bodily infirmity he was unable to perform the visit.

From this time he traveled but little from home; but often attended in Truth's service the meetings in the adjacent country, and while at Raleigh, under appointment from the Yearly Meeting, he appointed a meeting in that city.

Wherever Nathan Hunt went on religious service he made many warm friends, and his letters to these, as well as those to his wife and children, show a strong, affectionate nature and tender heart.

When age and infirmity prevented his more extended visits, he still exerted himself in helpful service for the meetings near by.

In 1829 he suffered the loss of his wife, who, during all their years of married life, had nobly done her part, caring for the home and bringing up the children. After her death he made his home with his son Thomas, who lived in the old home. His grandchildren were of great interest to him, and his later letters frequently refer to these. He was always very kind and attentive to children, and they, in turn, loved him devotedly. One little

incident will serve to illustrate his interest. It was told David Hunt by Daniel Williams, of Wayne County, Indiana :

"I remember well the visit of Nathan Hunt to my father's house when I was a little boy of eight or ten years. I stood in the corner near the great fireplace and listened to the conversation between him and my parents. When dinner was announced and we were passing to the kitchen, for our dining room and kitchen were all one, as he passed me he laid his hand upon my head and said : 'God bless the lad. What is thy name, my son?' I told him 'Daniel Williams.' 'Well, Daniel, if thou wilt be true and faithful to thy Heavenly Father thou wilt cross the ocean and stand before kings and princes for His name's sake.'"

This expression was of great comfort to Daniel Williams when, during a religious visit to England, he was sorely tried and his faith tested.

Very much of the preaching of Nathan Hunt was of a practical nature. He was saturated with Scripture truth and could quote texts with almost marvelous aptitude to drive home the lessons he was giving. While he was ready to defend the doctrine, and had a clear, penetrating mind in all matters relating to the welfare of the church, his main effort was exerted to induce people to surrender themselves to Christ and live holy, upright lives. He took familiar topics and showed how children should obey parents ; how parents should train their children ; dwelt upon the home life, and how husbands and wives should go in and out before their families ; how neighbors and friends should live in brotherly love. He benefited neighborhoods and cured troubles and went about doing good.

One striking instance of his power is seen in the way he handled the "Wilbur separation" question in the Yearly Meeting. At that distressing time, when the Society of Friends had not learned that separations cure no evils, but rather engender them, two epistles came to North Carolina from Meetings purporting to be New England Yearly Meeting. Friends from the separating body were present to plead their cause, and they had sympathizers in our own membership, and things looked stormy for us here.

There were dear and valued Friends on both sides. Tradition is that Nathan Hunt spent the whole night in prayer and earnest exercise to know what was right for us ; and, when the subject came up next day in response to the clerk's question which

of the epistles should be read, gave his voice for the one from the original body and followed in a masterly analysis of the doctrinal points, showing that John Wilbur had misinterpreted Joseph John Gurney. The event passed off without any trouble and we were saved a separation, and the atmosphere was cleared.

Nathan Hunt was an avowed anti-slavery man, and frequently dwelt upon the iniquity of the traffic in human beings and exerted himself constantly against the whole vile business.

One so much devoted to human progress and elevation as he, and so deeply interested in children and young people, would naturally be found amongst the leaders for education.

In 1827 Jeremiah Hubbard proposed to the yearly meeting that Friends should build a Boarding School for the education of their children. Nathan Hunt was the first one named on the committee, and Dougan and Asenath Clark, Joshua and Abigail Stanley, Thomas and Nancy Hunt—all members of his family—were also on this committee. From that time on until the school was opened, and as long as he lived, he devoted to it his chief labor of love. He was instrumental in securing nine thousand dollars towards its building and equipment, and at first his daughter Asenath, and next Abigail, were matrons. He spent much of his time at the school, where he was most welcome to students and teachers alike.

I have mentioned his possession of the mystic vision. Instances of this are frequent both in the traditions about him and in references in his letters. He was a psychopath, but with this mystic sense he also possessed an unusually healthy and sane mind, so that in him it never acquired the undue prominence which makes it a dangerous thing for its possessor and renders him an unsafe religious leader. One of the most remarkable experiences of this kind is worthy of a place in any account of him. He had been soliciting funds for the school, and had received the promise from his dear friend, George Howland, of New Bedford, Mass., that in case his whaling vessel, then out for three years, came home well laden with oil, he would give one thousand dollars to the school. I will quote the remainder of the story from David Hunt, who witnessed the scene:

"One beautiful spring morning I was standing on the old stone step leading to our part of the house when I saw grandfather, with a rake in his hand which he had been using at the barn, coming toward the house.

I saw as he came near the house that his countenance showed great excitement. As he came upon the steps he said to my mother, who was standing near the door, 'Well, Nancy, I shall get that draft from George Howland in a few days. I see his ship just at this moment sailing into the harbor at New Bedford and it is well laden.' He seemed so intensely delighted that I at once stepped inside to see and hear. My mother received the news with great pleasure, and going to the shelf close by, took down father's old diary and wrote down the day and hour, 9 o'clock in the morning.

"The mail facilities were not good in those days and it took a long time for a letter to pass the long distance from New Bedford to North Carolina. In about two weeks he got a letter from George Howland, dated at 11 o'clock of the very day mother had noted down, stating that his 'ship had just landed and was laden with 2,700 barrels of oil. I send thee a draft for \$5,000.' My uncle, Nathan, was postmaster and brought the letter to him. It was opened and read on the old piazza where so many interesting circumstances had occurred. For more than two hours he, with my uncle and aunt and father and mother, sat there and talked of the school and its prospects, what had been done and what must be done for it. Finally came the hour for retiring. The old family Bible was brought out and turning to John XV., he read it slowly and deliberately, once or twice, making some slight comment as to its adaptability to the occasion. He then kneeled and prayed so earnestly that its benediction rests like an aroma upon my soul to-day. He prayed for God's blessing to rest upon the two families assembled there that night. He prayed for George and Susan Howland, that God might, indeed, not only bless them in basket and store, but that when they were done with time below, He would give them an abundant entrance into an everlasting inheritance above. He prayed for the prospective boarding school, that it might wield a powerful influence for good, that the church might be advanced to higher and holier aims in its administration of spiritual truths, and finally, that all mankind might be brought to a saving knowledge of Christ."

The following is his letter acknowledging this gift:

"Springfield, Guilford Co., N. C.,
1st mo. 27, 1837.

DEAR FRIEND, G. H.:

"Thy truly acceptable favour of the 7th inst. came safely to hand on the 25th. It breathed so much of the spirit and feeling of the heart of the writer that it touched the inmost feelings of my soul with gratitude and thankfulness to the Lord, and tears trickled down my wayworn cheeks like falling rain, and I could say with David, 'Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies, thou anointest my head with oil, my cup runneth over, surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life,' and by His holy permission 'I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.' 'The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof, the world, and they that dwell therein; for He hath founded it upon the seas, and established it upon the floods. Who shall ascend into the hill of the

Lord, and who shall stand in his holy place? He that hath clean hands and a pure heart.' What a marvellous lesson of instruction is here brought to our view of the wondrous works of the Lord, and his regard unto his humble creatures who have clean hands and pure hearts, whose eyes are unto him as the eye of the servant is unto his master, and the eye of the maid unto her mistress? These shall ascend into the hill of the Lord, and stand in His holy place. How sublime the allusion to the seas and the floods, calculated to draw the attention of thy mind in a peculiar manner, as thou gatherest thy earthly treasure from them, by the favour and blessing of Him who appeared to Moses in a flame of fire in the bush, and instructed him what he must do; but Moses scarcely could believe he was prepared for such a service. He felt his extreme littleness, and fain would have put it on another. But he was the man called upon to do the business, and no other could take his place. So it is with every one of us; we have our place and labour assigned to us by the great Head of the Church, and no other can do it for us. Now, my dear G. and S., it presents to my mind to mention to you some of the language of the Spirit to the Church of Philadelphia: 'I know thy works; behold, I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it, for thou hast a little strength, and hast kept my word, and hast not denied my name.' O, my dear friends, you have a little strength, and have not denied the name of Jesus in perilous times, if you will be faithful, in the further language of the Spirit He will sustain you under the temptations and afflictions of time. 'Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth.' Words cannot express the nearness of feeling and sympathy with and for you, that I experienced in reading thy letter. It seemed as if I were present with you, drinking of the same cup, and mingling in your feelings and fears, beholding the trials that surround you, and the temptations that beset you. This cementing together in the celestial bond and covenant of light and life is more to me than gold or silver, or aught else that this world can give; and yet these things, under proper regulations, kept as the moon under foot, are great blessings.

"I do assure thee, my dear friend, thy kind donation to our boarding-school concern was a very cheering thing. My son, Thomas T. Hunt, one of the committee, was sitting near me when I read thy letter. He burst into tears, and said, he never had been more discouraged about it than he had been that morning; it really seemed like the light of heaven shining on the concern. I have no doubt it will have like effect on all the committee, and many other Friends. And truly, thy kind attention to me is exceedingly grateful.

Very affectionately,

NATHAN HUNT."

One little incident will serve as an illustration of his wisdom and discretion which seemed to govern all his actions:

"A short time previous to his attaining the age of four score he re-

signed his seat at the head of the meeting, observing that he felt best satisfied to do so while still in the possession of his mental faculties, lest he might be inclined to retain it when they become impaired and when he was no longer able to discern the true time for closing the meeting."

He was very tenderly attached to Joseph John Gurney, Jonathan and Hannah Backhouse and Eliza P. Kirkbride.* His letters to these friends breathe forth the same loving solicitude as the one quoted. A visit from Rowland Green, of Rhode Island, was one of the most joyful occasions of his declining years.

He quietly passed away in his ninety-eighth year on the 8th of Eighth Month, 1853.

Isaac Stanley, of Center, N. C., who, as a boy, was closely associated with Nathan Hunt, tells me that he was not a man of much means, and never had what would be regarded as a competency, but never allowed this fact to interfere with his sense of duty in ministering to the needs of his fellow-men. If he felt called of God to go, he went, and his affairs always prospered in his absence as well as they did when he attended to them himself. He, too, bears witness to the unfailing courtesy and self-forgetfulness of this man who was indeed as a prince amongst his people.

I take pleasure in adding two letters from two sisters who are amongst the very few still living who knew him and remember hearing him preach. The first is from Hannah Reynolds Osborne, who was teacher in the Boarding School and for years clerk of Women's Yearly Meeting, and is, even in her age and infirmity, a woman of rare culture and intelligence. The second letter is from her sister, Catherine P. Sheppard, who now lives in Pleasantville, Indiana.

"Thine of the date of my ninety-first birthday is to hand, and I much value the information it contains. Since nearly all of my schoolmates have passed the portal and gone before me, I greatly appreciate any intercourse with their children. * * * *

"My sense of sight has become so impaired that I have had to abandon the use of the pen and can greet my friends only with pencil marks, so I trust thee can excuse this feeble effort and accept it as the best I can do.

"I knew Nathan Hunt personally when I was quite a young girl, as a great preacher. As his daughter, Abigail H. Stanley, lived near to our meeting house, on his occasional visits to her he was very apt to stay over First Day and attend our meeting. In my childish fancy I regarded him as a personage of great dignity, one rather to be feared than approached, but in after years when I had opportunity of becoming more

*Afterwards Eliza P. Gurney.

acquainted with him, I ceased to fear him and came to love and respect him as a father.

"Of his career before my personal knowledge I only know that he said the little knowledge that he had from books he obtained by fire light of nights before he went to bed after days of hard work. In his public testimonies he was unsparing in his denunciations against wrong, especially unchastity and slavery, and sometimes became rash. In the public meeting on First Day of yearly meeting I once heard him say he 'would as soon hear an ass bray as to hear a slave-owner preach the Gospel.' When Friends took him to task for using such an expression, he said that was what came up and had to come out. In his manner of delivery, though very earnest, he was calm and dignified and graceful, using just sufficient gesture to properly emphasize his words. He never paced from one side of the house to the other and stormed at the audience by stamping the floor and pounding the railing with the Bible. Ministers never took the Bible to meeting in those days. They quoted largely from it, but it was from memory.

"The eccentric Mahlon Hockett always told where the text he quoted was found. Friends did not then have many Sabbath Bible schools. I think Nathan Hunt and his wife conducted one at Springfield. Friends thought that at home was the proper place for reading and that the hour allotted to worship should not be used for word reading, so their meetings were frequently held in silence. In some meetings, having no resident minister, sound preaching was highly valued and encouraged.

"The men all sat in meeting with their hats on. If any one offered vocal service, he took off his hat the while, and whenever any offered vocal prayer, the whole congregation stood up and turned their backs toward the speaker and the men took off their hats. If any one failed to do so, it was considered a misdemeanor. Whenever a woman engaged in vocal service, she took off her bonnet the while. They wore nice caps in those days which served the purpose of helping to keep their silk bonnets from becoming soiled on the inside. Sure, those silk bonnets were pretty and fine, but they were costly, easily spoiled and not nearly so comfortable as some other forms of head covering, and I don't regret that they have gone out of use.

"Nathan Hunt adhered strictly to the simplicity of address, apparel and manner of living so strenuously insisted upon by Friends in his time. They considered that deviation therefrom tended to foster vanity and lead away from the source of strength and weaken the power of the church as a means of soul saving. One valued member of our meeting would not go to wedding dinners when invited because he considered such entertainments extravagant feasting that tended to spiritual poverty.

"Nathan seemed to have no faith in the noisy demonstrations and protested against them as a mere delusion of excitement; did not understand that the still small voice could be discovered in the earthquake or whirlwind, but must be listened for in the 'silence of all flesh.'

"It was told on him that he once met some Methodist ministers on their

way from a camp meeting, and on their boasting because some nominal Friends united with them and told him, 'We got some of your sheep to-day;' he told them, 'Only some hogs; sheep do not wallow.' A hostility then existed amongst the denominations one against another. There was very little co-working, each acting 'stand back; I am holier than thou.' Friends rarely consented for others to hold meetings in their meeting houses because they thought it would be yielding their testimony against war, slavery, oaths, hireling ministry,, etc. Because other churches supported their ministers who were constantly engaged in church service Friends considered them 'hired,' but they always paid the traveling expenses of their own ministers to whom they gave credentials.

"Nathan had a keen sense of discerning and retaining countenances. He said that on his second visit to New England he recognized many of the young people who had been children during his first visit. He was a great lover of children. His daughter-in-law, Nancy, who lived with him, used to say that in his advanced age when he lay down for his accustomed afternoon nap he seemed to sleep more soundly while the children romped in his room than when they were away, and he would frequently take up her babe and get it to sleep when she was busy.

"It appeared that during early life he had been an active business man, but of that my personal knowledge does not justify me in telling anything precisely, only that I used to hear him say that when the hour for his midweek meeting arrived he always suspended business and went to meeting, no matter what customers were on hand; but judging from circumstances he had been financially successful as he had the where-with-all to entertain his friends and some means to devote to the education of his children.

"He made no long journeys after I knew him, but occasionally visited neighboring Quarterly Meetings. He once obtained credentials to go to Indiana, but on account of increasing infirmity he failed to go; but so much wished to see his daughter, Sarah, who lived there, that he offered to pay traveling expenses for her to come to see him, which she did in good style accompanied by her husband, a son and daughter.

"As a private man, Nathan was sociable, courteous, polite and thoughtful for the comfort of others. The language he used both in public and private was nearer grammatically correct than that of most uneducated persons.

"It was while I was an inmate at the Boarding School that I had the privilege of the closest association with him. So deep was his interest in that institution and so great, earnest and successful his efforts to raise means for its establishment and support that he could almost be called its father.

"As the two first matrons were his daughters, he frequently made visits there, using his influence to uphold the hands of those immediately concerned in its domestic management. He would often come into our school-room and listen to the recitations. If at any time when he came

in there was no cushion in a chair some little girl was sure to run to another room and bring one, for which he always thanked her.

"As he was always sociable and interesting we used to avail ourselves of every opportunity for a few of us to gather around him in the parlor and hear him talk. He once told us of a rather strange story for which he seemed to have no explanation; he said that a little while before the death of his first wife when coming home one day, as he neared the entrance of the lot, he saw her come out of the door and walk away toward the spring with the pail that she used to carry water in her hand just as she always did when she went for water. He turned his attention from her, hitched his horse and went directly into the house to find her sitting at her flax wheel spinning. He was so astonished that he asked her how long she had been there; she replied she had not been out of the house for two hours."

This concludes the reminiscences of Hannah Osborne. The following letter is from her sister, Catharine P. Sheppard, of Pleasantville, Indiana, who is eighty years of age:

"PLEASANTVILLE, IND., 3-20-1907.

"DEAR FRIEND:—Having just received thine of the 15th, in reply will willingly give thee all the information in my power relative to the life of Nathan Hunt, Sr., although I feel that my limited acquaintance with him will not be of any value to thee.

"My first knowledge of him was in my childhood, when he appeared to me as an aged saint leaning on his staff, for I never saw him walk without his cane.

"When he occasionally visited his daughter, Abigail, at Centre, and I would hear him preach, I wished that I could listen to him all the time, and often in the night I imagined that I could hear his voice telling the wonderful plan of salvation.

"In after years when a student in our hallowed institution, he occasionally sat with us in our school-room and exhorted us to prize our great privilege by improving every moment of time in diligent study. Once told us that the sacred Scriptures were his rule of conversation, as he believed them to be correct language, and he knew no other grammar. Said he ever felt grateful to a Presbyterian minister, who offered him the use of his library in his boyhood, and those books he read at night by firelight, while his mother spun on her little wheel. On one occasion speaking of the privations and trials of his early manhood, incident to the time and country, said, once six Friends on their way from Abbot's Creek to Quarterly Meeting at Cane Creek called at his house for dinner, and one turnover apple pie was all they had; this they divided, each ate his portion, all were satisfied, he was thankful for the privilege of having this morsel to give, and continued his unwavering trust in his God.

"When the British soldiers were camped at New Garden, and used the meeting house in which to nurse their small-pox patients, his

benevolent disposition led him to minister to their necessities, in opposition to the remonstrances of family and Friends, but he only had a light attack of the disease.

"He was a true citizen, never neglecting to vote according to his judgment, and when he once left Yearly Meeting to vote at the polls, the New England Friends were much surprised, but he told them it was a debt he owed the national government and could not neglect to pay it.

"His ministerial gift was remarkable, and I anticipated that the publication of his diary and journal would be a treasure to that and all succeeding generations, until told that there were none to publish. They had been burned by Mary Sewel, who could not read, and when cleaning house mistook them for refuse paper. (Mary was an orphan to whom he had given a home in his family.) I have ever regretted that this occurred, but never heard as he ever referred to it in any manner. Very likely he thought it an event that ought to be forgotten for the girl's peace. In my many years of her acquaintance I never heard her speak of it.

"Thy friend,

"CATHARINE P. SHEPPARD."

DAVID SANDS IN MAINE, 1779, 1795

[The following extracts from the Journal of David Sands will be of interest in connection with the letters of Joseph Wing, pp. 113-116.]

....[1779] "Thence to Vassalborough, and had two meetings in our way, and through the extendings of best wisdom we have been preserved through all, to the praise of His worthy name. From thence to Jethro Gardner's, which we reached with much difficulty, having been lost in the woods, and had little hope of getting through; but considering the mountains, hills, and woods are all the workmanship of Him in whom I trust, my mind was easy. We were favored to reach our friends, who gladly received us, and we had one meeting to good satisfaction, here being some conviction. We had two meetings on our return to Vassalborough, one amongst a thinly scattered people, also to satisfaction; and one in a town called Winslow.

After having spent some time in and about Vassalborough, and had many meetings....we went to a new settlement called Winthrop, where we had divers meetings.

[1795]...."We returned to Salem, and after a short stay there we went to Lynn, from whence....I proceeded towards the eastward on horseback, taking meetings as they fell in course, and appointed many others. The journey was very trying to my feeble constitution, and I had a heavy cold, yet continued our course towards Kennebeck, where we arrived 5th Mo. 9th, 1795, and found things greatly altered since my first visit, being now a pretty large monthly meeting, where there was not the face of a Friend to be seen when I first visited the country (1777); but rather a hard warlike people, addicted to many vices, but now become a solid, goodbehaved body of Friends." "Journal of David Sands, London, 1848," pp. 26, 58.

Letters from Joseph Wing 1796-1798

(Furnished by M. G. S.)

Sandwich, 11 mo 12, 1796—

Esteemed Friend. Abram Swift *

* * * * *

I had a very Lonesome journey after I left Oblong all the way alone clear home which Rendered it very Disagreeable. Since that i have been a Longer one than that was, which was to hallifax & this Novia scotia & if thou would wish to know how i got there, there was fore that Requested Friends care which was braught from the monthly meeting of Nantucket up to the Quarter, which after being Deliberated on was Thought best to appoint a Committee to visit them, which was Done & it fel to my lot to be one of the Fore—it took about Nine weeks. We Sailed from Bedford in the Eighth month, & in ten Days landed at hallifax & after a visit there hired horses & Rhode to Anipolis a hundred & thirty miles, whier we had many meetings among the people at larg.

Some of the oppertunities I believe will not easily be forgotten by them Nor us Nither.

There is many Seaking people in Them parts & haveing accomplished our appointment their, we hired a vessel & Endeavored to Reach home again & after beating fifteen Days, we gave up the prospect of Gitting thro by water & landed at the head of pennabscet bay where we parted.

Jethro Mitchel & William Roatch Jun'r went directly on. & James Davis & I went to See the young Convinced people where David Sands & I was the Summer before—

We had many precious oppertunities amongst them which Rendered our viset very agreable to us— they at broad Cove drew up a Request & sent on by us to the Monthly meeting to hold a mid weak meeting, which I Expect will be granted. & think that it will be but little while before they will hold a preparative meeting— Some of these begin to apear very Brile— we visited another meeting which was sat up by & thro' the Convince-

*Abram Swift had moved from Sandwich and settled in Nine Partners, Duchess Co., New York.

ment of David, where things was in good order among them. & heard From two other meetings that was sat up in like manner. where they seem to Do well. & when i got home i Received a letter from David Sands wrote Last of 7th month from London, Just before he Embarked for hollen & Germany & said that he haith Sent a thousand books to the people of the Eastern parts, which is got to Boston. His health is much better than it haith been. * * * * *

I may inform thee that there were Seven of the Followers of timothy Davis ¹ Requested at our last monthly meeting & more is Expected & we have a prety Deal of that kind of agreeable Service to Do which I hope will Increase.

Dont forget that Joseph Wing will be very glad to receive a line from thy hand— So haveing nothing more to Communicate at this time- with a Salletation of affectionate love

JOSEPH WING.

Sandwich in Barnstable Countie

The 8 of 12 mo 1798.

Dear Friend Joanna Swift. ² these may inform thee thy Exceptable Communication of 10 mo 4th Came Safe to hand, altho Nearly two months from the Date their of; * * * * *

I may inform thee that it haith been my lot to travel twice thro Noviscotia since I saw thee. the first time I believe I have given thee the perticulers of before: & the last viset Was in Company with John Wigham ³

I was gon from My own home three months to a day & traveld by land & water 1775 miles. in many places where Never a Friend traveld before—

Sometimes traveld from 12 to 17 miles between houses & had the advantage of a foot parth with marked trees to Gide us. Sometimes got but two meals a Day & them were Corse tu: These were Walks Not.very pleasant to the Natural part, but so it is & it is Not best that we should have Smooth things all the time: we had once to lay in the bottom of a Small bote & coverd us with our Sales, once laid on the beach by the Side of a Fier &

¹For note on Timothy Davis, see page 91.

²Joanna Swift was wife of Abram Swift.

³Friend Minister from *Scotland*.

had our Saddle bags to lay our heads on & our Great Coats & Misketers to Cover us. & once Expected to have laid in the woods without the advantage of Fier or victuals & had Come to a Conclusion in what manner it should take place, but Jest before Daylight left us. we saw a lite which proved to be a hous to our great joy & Sattisfaction— So the Great Master is pleased at times to try us with the Site of Danger & then from time to time Doth preserve us from it—: in this Dessolate Wilderness there was many kinds of Wild Varmants which had been known to pray upon people: but after a long travel of this kind, to have got amongst our Friends again & Come to Set Down in a Meeting with them. I could compare it to a man that had been Kept on very Short allowance of Food & then New what it was to abound To give thee the perticulers of this Journey is more than could be Comprised in a letter— I may inform the that their is a good prospect of their being two meetings of Friends Set up in them parts & I may inform the that when I Traveld with David Sands their hath such a Convincement taken plase that their haith been five meetings Set up within the Compas of Vasselborough monthly meeting since David went away & three others in Different plases in the Eastern Countrie.

Three New meeting houses is built this Somer past within the Compas of Vasselborough monthly meeting, each of them 40 feet long by 30 wide that meeting of Vasselborough is as much of a Favored meeting as i know & I Dont Know but it is owing to Such a Great Field of labour that they have to go thro.

Five meetings under the care of Committees & Such a larg Number of Requesters that their is Committees Continually in Exercise— But I cant give thee such an encouraging account of any of the little meetings in the old Settlements here.

Soon after the Return of Timothy Davis to Society. we had a Larg number that Returned back with him, that our meetings was much crowded with that very Exceptable labor. of Restoring of backsliders to unity agane— But that seems to be got thro' with at the present.

So take our meetings here together it is a low time in Society: yet their is a Remnant in all our meetings which i believe is under a proper Exercise for the prosperity of Truth: but the Groth & increas of Society apears to be in the Eastern Countrie. I think

we have Good Reason to Expect a large body of Friends to be gathered in them parts—

Their is one meeting set up about 70 miles below Vasselborough & their is Some Expectation of a Nother being Set up in time about 30 miles below that. Wheir Daniel Haviland traveld the Somer past. Whose Labors With his brother Roggers haith I believe been much to the Sattisfaction of the honest hearted ones. I was Layd up with a Sore When Daniel & companion was heer that I did not Git out to meeting: But having got wel when Rogger & his companion Came I was in company with him & his Companion about two weaks— went with them to Nantucket Whom I think haith been much Favoured in his labours in these parts—

* * *

* * *

* * *

* * *

Now to give thee some account of the Deaths that haith been in these parts Peleg Hoxie & two Daughters, one of them was wife to Jashub Wing the other Single—on Scoten Neck the old Neger by the Name of peter which was thought to be more than a hundred: Ann Wing Mother to John Wing. at the Seder Swamp the widdo mary Hoxie the old widdo Anne Allen mother-in-law to Georg Allen paul wings Second Son Zacheus, Timothy Davis & his brother Nathan & his Daughter Mary— I dont Recollect any others at present—

Paul Wing haith Married his two Daughters Hephziba & beulah, one to a man in Salem the other to a man in Lynn Removed about a month since & apear to be married very wel. Stephen Wing haith married his two Eldest Daughters one to David (?)illeys Son the other to Edward Shoves son at Barcley.

My neighbor Ebenezer Wing haith buried his wife— * * Give my love to Tripp Mosher when thou sees him & tel him that i have jest Received a letter from Jacob Taber of Vasselborough informing of their Jest Receiving Five Requests from persons that live at the west pond to joyn the Society.

With that love which is not Subject to Chainge I bid thee Fare wel

JOSEPH WING.

The Setting Up of Ohio Yearly Meeting¹

[Some inquiry having been lately made regarding Friends in the western part of Pennsylvania, THE BULLETIN is indebted to our friend, Kirk Brown, the custodian of the early records of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, for the following transcripts from the original Minutes relating to the setting up of Ohio Yearly Meeting. At what period Red Stone Quarterly Meeting went out of existence, the Editor is not informed, though doubtless the records of Ohio Yearly Meeting would show.—Ed.]

“At a Yearly Meeting of Friends held in Baltimore, for the Western Shore of Maryland &c. by adjournment from the 15th of the 10th. Month to the 19th. of the same inclusive 1810.

The seventeenth of the month and fourth of the week.

Red Stone and Salem Quarterly Meetings having forwarded for the Consideration of this meeting propositions for a Division thereof, so as to establish another Yearly Meeting on the western side of the Alleghany? which being weightily considered, a tender sympathy was felt for Friends in this remote Situation to the westward? and the Exercise into which the meeting was introduced on the subject resulting in a conclusion that it be refered for further consideration.”

“At a Yearly Meeting held in Baltimore, for the Western Shore of Maryland &c. by adjournment from the 14th. of the 10th Month to the 18th. of the same inclusive, 1811.

Fifteenth of the Month and third of the week.

The very important subject in relation to a Division of this Yearly Meeting, refered for further Consideration from the meeting last year being resumed? and the four Quarters west of the Alleghany Mountains, having in their Reports exprest their united Judgement in favor of establishing a Yearly Meeting, Northwest of the River Ohio, a weighty deliberation thereon engaged the attention of the meeting, and much tender feeling being witnessd thereon engaged the attention of the meeting, for Friends in their remote situation, it was concluded that a Committee be appointed to unite with a Committee of women Friends in deliberating further on the Proposition, and to report to a future sitting. The following Friends were accordingly appointed, to the

¹Taken from “Minutes of Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends.” Liber 4, Folio 355, &c.

service, Viz. Evan Thomas, Thomas Moore, Isaac Balderston, Gerard T. Hopkins, Joseph Griest, Thomas Wood, Solomon Shepherd, Abel Thomas, James Mendenhall, Asa Moore, John McPherson, Israel Janney, Thomas Farquhar, Henry Mills, William Wood, Samuel Potts, Horton Howard, Camm Thomas, Abraham Warrington, William Heald, Elisha Schooley, Robert Hannah, John Hunt, James Hadley, Thomas Shreve, George Elliott & Goldsmith Chandlee.

“Seventeenth of the Month and fifth of the week.

The following Report from the Committee appointed on the subject of the subject of a Division of this Yearly Meeting was read and considered Viz.

To the Yearly Meeting now sitting,

The Committee appointed to take into consideration the proposal of a Division of the Yearly Meeting as brought forward from the Quarterly Meetings west of the Alleghany Mountains, having meet in company with women Friends, by a free communication of sentiment, are united in believing [it] to be a right one, but are most easy to propose that the weighty subject may continue under the Consideration of Friends another year? and the Yearly Meetings with which this corresponds may also be informed thereof.

Which is submitted to the Yearly Meeting,

Signed on behalf of the Committee,

EVAN THOMAS,
JAMES MENDENHALL,
MARY MIFFLIN,
SARAH JANNEY.”

“At a Yearly Meeting held in Baltimore, for the Western Shore of Maryland &c. by adjournment from the 12th day of 10th. Month to the 16th. of the same inclusive 1812.

The consideration of the important subject of a division of the Yearly Meeting? as continued from the meeting last year, being resumed, copies of minutes were produced from the Yearly Meetings of friends in Philadelphia, and Virginia, informing that each of the said meetings had appointed a committee (most of whom were present) to unite with us in deliberating thereon. It was concluded to refer the subject to the consideration of a com-

mittee in conjunction with those Friends now attending by the appointment of the above Yearly Meetings, and such committee of women Friends as may be appointed by their meeting? and to report to a future sitting. The following friends were appointed to that service. Isaiah Balderston, Evan Thomas, George Ellicott, William Riley, Thomas Wood, Joseph Griest, John Talbott, Abel Thomas, James Mendenhall, Israel Janney, Asa Moore, Thomas Shreve, David Grave, Joseph Thomas, Henry Mills, John Haines, Joseph Steer, Jonathan Taylor, Isaac Parker, Horton Howard, Thomas French, Thomas Grissell, Samuel Davis, Nathan Galbreath, John Furnace, Mordecai Walker, Ennion Williams, John Stall & Gerard T. Hopkins.

Thirteenth of the Month and third of the week.

The Committee appointed on the important subject of a division of this Yearly Meeting brought in the following report, Viz.

To the Yearly Meeting now sitting.

The Committee appointed to unite with women Friends in a further consideration of the interesting subject of a Yearly Meeting, to be held in the state of Ohio, Report we have several times met, and have had the company of several brethren of the Yearly Meetings of Philadelphia, and Virginia, and believe that in our deliberation we have been favored with a degree of solemnity, under which we are free to propose that the Quarterly Meetings west of the Alleghany Mountains within the Verge of this Yearly Meeting be at full liberty to convene together at Short Creek, on the third first-day in the 8th. Month next in the capacity of a Yearly Meeting; agreeable to their prospect and desire as expressed in the Report to the meeting last year.

All which we submit to the Yearly Meeting.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,

by James Mendenhall, Rachel Neive,
Gerard T. Hopkins, Sarah Brown.

which was united with, and the Quarterly Meetings to the westward of the Alleghany Mountains, which hitherto belonged to this Yearly Meeting, were left at liberty to send Representatives thereunto accordingly."

William Rotch and John Hancock

In connection with the paper on William Rotch, which appeared in the last number of *THE BULLETIN*, the following extracts from the correspondence of John Hancock will be interesting:

Boston, April 5, 1765.

"I duly note what you say of oyl and the Conversation you had with Buxton, Symes & Enderby. I wish their and your determination as to a limitation in the price of oyl could take effect. You do not so well know the disposition of some of their connections here as I do, having had frequent conferences on the Same Subject, but to no effect.....I should be very fond of keeping the price down, but if others will give a greater price I must not have my hands tied.....I shall, however, be better able to write you more fully by next opportunity as I can know more of Mr. Rotch's plans and designs and whether he is inclined to be on amicable terms, tho' he this day called upon me, and mentioned what his Friends wrote and that he was disposed to Effect their plan, and desired that we might confer together on the Subject, and I appointed a day for him to dine with me, and no one else, when we shall talk matters over, after which I will acquaint you with the result."

The result of the conference could not have been very satisfactory to Hancock, for he writes a few days later:

"I have had a long Conference with Mr. Rotch agreeable to your desire, Respecting oyl trade. He appears to be disposed to be upon amicable terms and to be aiding & tells me he will strictly abide by the instructions he has received from Buxton, Symes & Enderby, how farr; Time can only discover. You are not so well acquainted with that Gent. as I am; but I will for once try him, which but for your desire, I should never have even had a thought of doing."

In a letter of July 6, 1765, we find another reference to William Rotch, from which it would seem that the agreement had not been very successful, for Hancock writes:

".....I have done the utmost I possibly could and considering the Situation of things have succeeded tolerably well, for the whole of Mr. Rotch's Vessells—are detained for want of oyl."*

*The above extracts are taken from A. E. Brown's "John Hancock, His Book, Boston, 1898," pp. 64, 65, 67, 77.

List of Members

Added Since Second Month, 1907

- Allen, Clement E., Media, Pa.
 Allen, Mary S., 142 N. 16th St., Phila.
 Bacon, Herbert M., Torresdale, Phila., Pa.
 Bailey, Hezekiah B., 315 Union Trust Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
 Barr, Daisy B., Fairmount, Ind.
 Blanchard, Eliza T., Bellefonte, Pa.
 Carey, James, Jr., Baltimore, Md.
 Carey, Margaret T., 1004 Cathedral St., Baltimore, Md.
 Cary, John R., Roland Park, Baltimore, Md.
 Coffin, Charles F., 3232 Groveland Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 Fellow, Henry C., Alva, Oklahoma.
 Hussey, Timothy B., North Berwick, Me.
 Jones, George L., Vassalboro, Me.
 Lowry, John C., 1811 Chestnut St., Phila.
 Moore, J. S., Galena, Kansas (P. O. Box 235).
 Neave, Samuel R., Hughesville, Md.
 Pope, John L., 2022 E. 107th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
 Spicer, J. Lindley, 29 Cherry St., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
 Stranahan, Edgar H., 220 Fife Ave., Wilmington, Ohio.
 Tatum, Mary, Park Avenue Hotel, N. Y.
 Webster, Samuel C. (M.D.), Westerly, R. I.
 White, David F., Rich Square, N. C.
 White, Richard J., 13 North St., Baltimore, Md.
 Wickersham, W. B., Public Library, Chicago, Ill.
 Wood, L. Hollingsworth, 2 Wall St., New York.
 Wood, William H. S., 14 E. 56th St., New York.



ELIJAH COFFIN
1798—1862

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia

Contents

Frontispiece—Elijah Coffin.

| | |
|---|----|
| Indiana Yearly Meeting, <i>Charles F. Coffin</i> | 2 |
| Whitewater Monthly Meeting, | 2 |
| Illustration, Indiana Yearly Meeting, | 5 |
| First Yearly Meeting in Indiana, | 5 |
| Establishment of Western Yearly Meeting, <i>Charles F. Coffin</i> , | 9 |
| Family of William Coddington, <i>Amelia M. Gummere</i> | 12 |
| Anecdotes of Nathan Hunt, <i>John Hilton</i> | 15 |
| Illustration, Residence of Nathan Hunt | 15 |
| Letter of Thomas Lloyd to Philip Ford, 1693 | 17 |
| Book Notices | 20 |
| Diaries of Edward Pease | 20 |
| Quaker and Cavalier, William Penn | 23 |
| Abraham Lincoln | 23 |
| Elijah Coffin | 24 |
| Exiles in Virginia | 25 |
| Notes and Queries | 28 |
| Annual Meeting | 32 |
| List of Members | 35 |

All communications for the "Bulletin" should be addressed to Allen C. Thomas, Editor, Haverford, Pa.

All dues and subscriptions should be paid to Mary S. Allen, Secretary-Treasurer, 142 N. 16th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

INDIANA YEARLY MEETING.
WHITE WATER MONTHLY MEETING.

CHARLES F. COFFIN.

[The papers on Indiana Yearly Meeting were written by Charles F. Coffin for the *Friends' Review* in 1856, and now are furnished by the author as revised by him in 1907. They will be new to most of our readers. The information in them can be relied upon as accurate. Elijah Coffin, the father of Charles F. Coffin, was closely identified with the early history of Indiana Yearly Meeting, and indeed with the history of the Society of Friends in America during his life. He was Clerk of Indiana Yearly Meeting for thirty-two consecutive years, and his son Charles succeeded him, holding the office for twenty-seven consecutive years; father and son thus being clerks consecutively fifty-nine years—probably a unique record. (See brief notice of Elijah Coffin, page 24.)—Ed.]

That portion of Indiana lying west of a line drawn from Fort Recovery in the northwest corner of Darke County, Ohio, to the mouth of the Kentucky River was ceded to the United States government with a large extent of country elsewhere in the Northwest Territory, at the celebrated Treaty of Greenville which was signed on the third day of the Eighth month, 1795. The treaty was made by General Wayne on the part of the United States with twelve of the Indian tribes inhabiting the then Northwest Territory and closed the destructive Indian War which had existed for several years previously.

Some settlements were soon formed in the southern part of the territory then ceded, but as late as the year 1805 the country in the vicinity of the present city of Richmond, indeed in the present county of Wayne, near the northern boundary of said purchase was an unbroken wilderness.

About the last of second month, 1806, four young men who were natives of North Carolina, but had been residing for a short time in Ohio and who were either members or closely connected with the Society of Friends, searching for a home in this new country, started upon a section line (the country having been a short time previously surveyed) eight or ten miles north of Dayton, Ohio, and pursuing it westward for about thirty miles through an unbroken wilderness came to the country upon White

Water River, a short distance above where Richmond now stands. The country then was in a primeval state, covered with a dense forest of valuable timber, mostly beech and sugar maple, with an undergrowth of spice wood and other bushes, and with a species of nettle. The virgin soil at that time was very loose and rich, so that a horse could be tracked for some weeks after having passed over it. The streams appeared smaller than they now do, and their margin and the gravel beds adjoining them were covered with a thick, coarse grass sufficiently high in many places to conceal a horse. Of wild animals, a few bears were found, and large numbers of wolves and deer, and smaller animals such as wild-cat, raccoon, foxes, etc. Of birds, pigeons were found in incredible number; wild turkeys and geese were abundant. Very few if any of the varieties of birds which are now found in the country were then seen.

Two of the aforesaid young men, David Hoover and his brother Henry, were living within the recollection of the present writer, and with them he was intimately acquainted, and he is indebted to them for much of the information now given. From the point where they first struck the river they passed down it a few miles, and although no Indians appeared to be permanently located in the vicinity, they met two Indian trappers where the city of Richmond now stands, who appeared friendly and by whom they learned that a white man lived three miles down the stream. They proceeded to his house and found in that vicinity three or four families who had recently emigrated from Kentucky, with the exception of whom there were very few, if any, settlers within twenty miles of where Richmond now stands. From thence they returned through the woods to their homes in Ohio again. They carried with them glowing accounts of the new country by which several Friends were induced to emigrate to it in the eighth month of the same year, 1806. Amongst the number was Jeremiah Cox, who purchased and settled upon the land upon which White Water meeting house was afterwards built and part of the city of Richmond now stands. He appears to have been a firm and consistent Friend, "diligent in the attendance of meetings and in every good word and work," and had much influence in inducing Friends to emigrate to that vicinity. In the fall of the same year John Smith, formerly of Perquimans

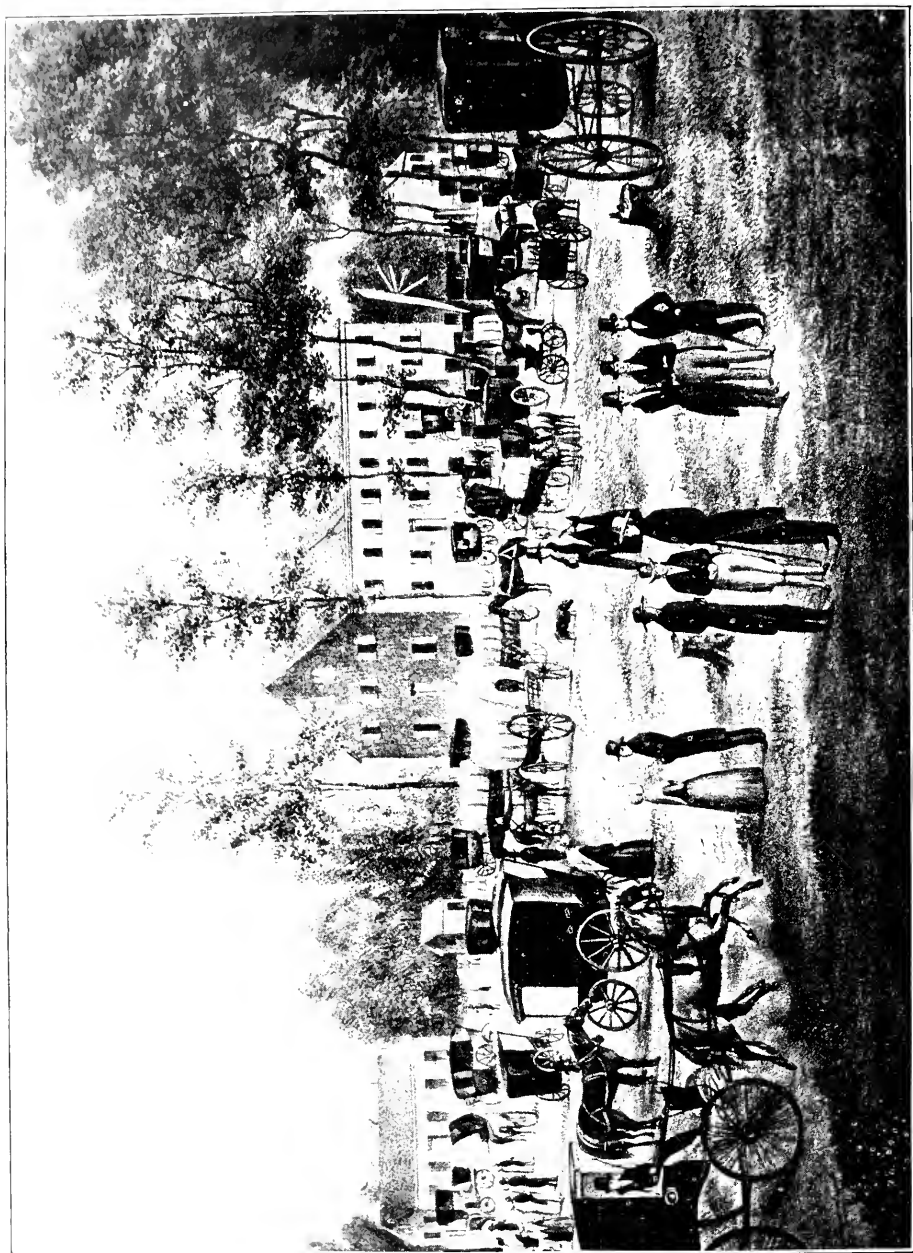
County, North Carolina, removed to the same neighborhood; he was also an active and useful member of the Society of Friends. In the fall of 1806 John Simpson, a minister from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, paid a religious visit to the few Friends in this vicinity and held a meeting in the cabin occupied by Jeremiah Cox; he preached a lengthy sermon to a few hearers, probably not exceeding twenty persons. He was no doubt the first ministering Friend who visited Indiana and appears to have left a very favorable impression upon the little congregation; one of the hearers at that time says: "I doubt whether, as a speaker or as a fatherly good man, he has had many to excel him since that date," another remarks that "his heart melted down under his fatherly conversation." After leaving White Water he went to visit a company of Indians under the celebrated chief, Tecumseh, who were then near where Greenville, in Darke County, Ohio, now stands, about twenty-five miles northeast. One can better appreciate the hardships this devoted Friend must have undergone when we remember that to reach these few Friends he had to travel miles through an unbroken wilderness and that when there he found the settlers recently arrived living in small, uncomfortable cabins with very few of what we should consider the necessities of life around them.

It is not certain at what time Friends commenced holding religious meetings regularly in this infant neighborhood, but it is believed to have been about the Eighth month, 1807, for which purpose they met in the cabin of Jeremiah Cox until the little congregation increased in numbers so much as to render it inconvenient to accommodate them in the small space which was afforded by a western cabin which was occupied by a family. After which Jeremiah Cox, having built himself a hewed log house, gave up his cabin for a meeting house; rough benches were made to accommodate the Friends who met.

After this date emigration set rapidly into the neighborhood, and many Friends, principally from North Carolina, removed and settled there.

In the fall of 1808 a new meeting house was built of logs about twenty-four feet square.

Stephen Grellet paid a religious visit to the neighborhood about this time and delivered a feeling discourse from the text,



INDIANA YEARLY MEETING OF FRIENDS, 1844.

"Children, have ye any meat?" which, it is said, drew tears from many eyes. After leaving White Water, accompanied by a young Friend from the neighborhood as guide, he went by an obscure path through the wilderness to West Branch in Ohio.

In these early days there appears to have been much good will and fellowship existing amongst Friends; they were mostly poor and it required all the exertion they were able for, to clear away the forest and procure the necessities of life. A sense of mutual dependence upon each other rendered them kind and hospitable.

On the 30th of the Ninth month, 1809, the first Monthly Meeting was held in the aforesaid house and called "White Water"; this was several years before the town of Richmond was laid off. It was established by Miami Quarterly Meeting, which was then subordinate to Baltimore Yearly Meeting.

THE FIRST YEARLY MEETING IN INDIANA.

CHARLES F. COFFIN.

The emigration to Indiana was large, and as Friends in whatever part of the territory they settled had their certificates addressed to White Water Monthly Meeting, its records show the receipt and acceptance of a large number of them for the first few years after the establishment of the Monthly Meeting. A very large majority of the Friends were from North and South Carolina and Virginia, from which states they were induced to emigrate by the bane of slavery and the poverty of the soil, and attracted to this territory by glowing accounts of its fertility and beauty in the hope of finding a place where they could, whilst improving their outward condition, feel satisfied for their children to settle around them. They cheerfully bore the hardships of pioneer life and readily adapted their habits to the circumstances by which they were surrounded.

Indiana Yearly Meeting, "for the States of Indiana, Illinois and the western parts of the State of Ohio, was opened and held at White Water the 8th of 10th Month, 1821," the privilege having been granted by Ohio Yearly Meeting held from the 4th to the 8th of the 9th Month, 1820. It was composed of the Quar-

terly Meetings of Miami, West Branch, Fairfield, White Water and Blue River. The three former located in the southwestern part of Ohio; White Water in the eastern and Blue River in the southern part of Indiana. The first settlements of Friends in Indiana (at White Water), was in the year 1806. The first at Miami, the oldest meeting of Friends within the limits of Indiana Y. M. was about six years previously. Yet so great were the attractions of these new States and so rapidly had Friends emigrated to them, that all the Quarterly Meetings of which the Yearly Meeting was composed were at the time of its establishment large bodies of Friends. It is difficult to form a correct estimate of the number of Friends in attendance at the first Y. M., but it is supposed to have been between one and two thousand. The house in which White Water Monthly and Quarterly Meetings were held, a "hewed log" building, about 60 by 30 feet, was used for the women's meeting, and pretty well filled with women Friends; and a shed somewhat larger, covered with planks, and open at the sides was occupied by men Friends. The first two Yearly Meetings were held in this way; the large brick house occupied many years having been commenced in 1822 and so far completed as to be used by men Friends in 1823.

All the members of the new Yearly Meeting were but recent settlers in a wilderness country, and most of them in limited circumstances, and their time having been fully employed in clearing away the forests and procuring the necessities of life, they had but few of its comforts about them; there was not, probably, more than twenty carriages of any description at the first Yearly Meeting, nearly all both of men and women Friends who came from a distance traveled on horseback. The roads were but little improved and in many places were almost impassible. The Friends in the vicinity mostly lived in cabins or other small houses, but their hospitality was unbounded, and such as they had was freely shared with their brethren from other places, and the number, which some of them accommodated would seem almost incredible at the present day; after all, many were obliged to lodge in barns and others to go several miles off to the surrounding neighborhoods. No hotels of sufficient size to accommodate many persons were found in the vicinity and no compensation was expected or received by the Friends and others in the neighborhood who enter-

tained Friends from the other parts of the Yearly Meeting. One who was present says "there was nothing but harmony at that time amongst Friends, and all met with one accord in one place."

On the first day Benjamin Hopkins was appointed Clerk of the Men's Meeting, and George Carter, Assistant.

The printed General Epistle from London, and a written one from Dublin, New England and Ohio, addressed to Indiana Yearly Meeting, were received and read to satisfaction. A Committee was appointed to prepare returning minutes for the "traveling ministering Friends and companions from other Yearly Meetings"; who were present—but the names of none of them appear on the minutes. A committee was appointed to prepare "Essays of Epistles" to other Yearly Meetings, and one to prepare and produce copies of the London General Epistle "to be handed down to the different Quarterly Meetings." A case of appeal from Miami and one from Fairfield Quarterly Meetings were acted upon and decided against the appellants. The following minute was adopted, "the adoption of the discipline of Ohio Yearly Meeting claiming the attention of this after a time of solid deliberation the meeting unites in adopting it for the government of this Yearly Meeting, with the exception of all necessary alteration of names, time, place, etc., which is directed to the Quarterly Meeting and the preparative meeting for their observance."

A request from New Garden and Cherry Grove Monthly Meeting for the privilege of holding a Quarterly Meeting to be called "New Garden" was referred to a committee to visit the meetings and report next year.

Twenty-six Friends were appointed "to constitute a meeting for sufferings" in connection with four members which each of the Quarterly Meetings were directed to appoint.

A plan for a Yearly Meeting house was adopted and three Friends, Jeremiah Cox, Samuel Charles, and Thomas Roberts were appointed "superintendents of the work" and a committee of two Friends out of each Quarterly Meeting to correspond with them.

In reference to Indian concerns, the meeting united in judgment that the subject "under the present aspect of things is too interesting to be suffered to fall to the ground," and a corresponding committee of men and woman Friends was appointed "to

co-operate with the committees of Baltimore, and Ohio Yearly Meetings in the like concern," "with the restriction that the committee thus appointed have no power to make requisitions of a pecuniary nature on the members of the Yearly Meeting."

Several friends were appointed to constitute "a standing committee on the subject of the people of color" and "the several Quarterly Meetings directed to appoint a suitable number of Friends to unite with and be members of that committee."

On the subject of spirituous liquors the following was adopted: "The subject of spirituous liquors coming weightily before the Meeting, the minds of Friends were brought under a deep exercise and many pertinent remarks were dropped and Friends encouraged to the support of our testimony against importing, vending, distillation, grinding of grain for the unnecessary use of that destructive article, and Quarterly and Monthly Meetings directed and feelingly desired to give the subject its due weight and report their care to the meeting next year."

The following "apportionment of sums to be raised by the different Quarterly Meetings" was adopted and will show something of the relative size of the different Quarterly Meetings: Miami, \$33; West Branch, \$11; Fairfield, \$12; White Water, \$33; Blue River, \$11.

The Meeting adjourned on Sixth day after a session of five days. The following adjourning minute was adopted: "Favored in this and also in the preceding sittings of this our Annual Assembly with the company of several distant brethren and also with good degree of brotherly consideration under the present solemnity the Meeting concludes to meet again at the appointed time next year if consistent to the Divine will."

ESTABLISHMENT OF WESTERN YEARLY MEETING.

BY CHARLES F. COFFIN.

At Indiana Yearly Meeting session, held Ninth month 30, 1854, a request was presented by Blue River, White Lick, Western, Union, and Concord Quarterly Meetings, "for the establishment of a Yearly Meeting to be composed of said Quarterly Meetings and to be settled and held at or near Plainfield, Indiana, and to be known by the name of Western Yearly Meeting of Friends" (there was no Yearly Meeting west of it at that time). "A committee consisting of thirteen men and twenty-one women Friends," was appointed "to visit those Quarterly Meetings and deliberate weightily upon their request and report their judgment as to the propriety of granting it to our next Yearly Meeting."

These Quarterly Meetings were all in the State of Indiana, west of a line drawn north and south through near the centre of the State, leaving Indianapolis on the west side. Their population at this time is not now known, but in the reports on education made to this Yearly Meeting there was reported 2,836 children between five and twenty years of age.

There were large numbers of Friends in the Counties of Hendricks, Morgan, Montgomery and Hamilton, within easy reach of Plainfield, and the attendance of the Yearly Meeting for many years was very large, the large meeting-house being filled to overflowing. Of recent years the Yearly Meeting has assumed a more representative character, and the attendance on business days is much smaller, although the number of Friends composing it is probably larger.

The Yearly Meeting House has been remodeled and not much over half the space is found sufficient for its comfortable accommodation.

The Committee appointed in 1854 reported to the Yearly Meeting in 1855. This report was signed by seven men and eleven women, and the Minute of the Yearly Meeting is as follows:

"We, the Committee appointed to visit Blue River, White Lick, Western, Union, and Concord Quarterly Meetings, on their request for the privilege of holding a Yearly Meeting, have attended thereto

and on conferring together and weightily considering the subject are united in believing that it would be right to grant their request, which we submit to the Yearly Meeting."

"The foregoing report having been read and weightily considered by the Meeting has been fully united with as the sense and judgment of this Yearly Meeting."

"The time proposed for opening the new Yearly Meeting is the Second day after the third First day in Ninth month, 1858.

"The Committee appointed to prepare essays of epistles to the other Yearly Meetings is directed to insert a paragraph which will bring the subject before them, and request their judgment thereon."

In the meantime the Meetings making the request went forward to build a Meeting House and to take such further action as seemed necessary to prepare for the opening of Western Yearly Meeting.

At Indiana Yearly Meeting in 1857, the following Minute was adopted:

"This Yearly Meeting having come to the judgment in the year 1855, after much consideration and care, to set up a new Yearly Meeting of Friends at Plainfield, Indiana, to be called Western Yearly Meeting, and the Yearly Meetings of London, Dublin, New England, New York, Baltimore, North Carolina, and Ohio, having signified to us their unity and concurrence in this important proceeding, we now appoint the following Friends to attend the opening thereof at the time fixed upon in the ninth month next, and report their care therein to next Yearly Meeting."

This Committee consisted of eight men and eight women Friends, who reported to the Yearly Meeting in 1858 as follows:

"We attended at Plainfield at the time appointed and were joined by a Committee of Baltimore and one of New York and one of Ohio Yearly Meetings, and the Western Yearly Meeting was organized and opened according to previous arrangements, and was held to good satisfaction."

The following extracts are from the Journal of Elijah Coffin, who was Clerk of Indiana Yearly Meeting at the time Western Yearly Meeting was established and who was on the Committee to attend its opening, 1858, Ninth month 20th:

"On the seventeenth I left home to attend the new Western Yearly Meeting to be held in Plainfield.

"On the eighteenth the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders was opened and held to good satisfaction. The number in attendance was probably not less than one hundred and sixty.

"Two public meetings for worship were held on First day, the nineteenth, at ten o'clock A. M., and three o'clock P. M., both very

large; and there being more than the house would hold, a meeting outside, largely attended, was held, both forenoon and afternoon. The Meeting House is 120 feet long by 74 feet wide and will receive about two thousand persons.

"On this day, the twentieth, the Yearly Meeting was formally opened, at eleven o'clock A. M. The attendance appeared to fill the house, and the occasion was a very solemn one. A committee from Indiana Yearly Meeting, one from Baltimore and one from New York, and one from Ohio, were in attendance. B[arnabas] C. Hobbs was appointed clerk for the day and afterwards continued for the Meeting.

"Twenty-first. Meeting continues to good satisfaction. A Bible Meeting was held in the evening, probably five or six hundred Friends in attendance.

"Twenty-second. Large meetings for worship to-day. Another Bible Meeting held in the evening, at which an association was organized.

"Twenty-third. After a satisfactory meeting to-day I returned home in the evening. It is expected the business of the Yearly Meeting will be closed to-morrow."

Note. The Fiftieth Anniversary of the establishment of Western Yearly Meeting occurs this year, 1908, and arrangements are being made for observing it. The following program has been prepared:

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF WESTERN YEARLY MEETING, 9th Month, 1908.

- 1st. Friends' Settlements in Western Indiana and Eastern States.
- 2nd. Events surrounding the Organization of Western Illinois.
- 3rd. Social Life of Friends 50 years ago.
- 4th. Development of the Material Interests of the Yearly Meeting.
- 5th. A personnel of the leading Ministers and members in 1858.
- 6th. Development and Progress, including the different departments of Church work.
- 7th. The Philanthropic work of Western Yearly Meeting.
- 8th. Present resources and outlook.

[From the printed "Minutes of Western Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1858," it appears that the following Ministers from other Yearly Meetings were present: Robert and Sarah Lindsay from London; Moses H. Beede, James Jones, James Van Blarcom, from New England; Rebecca T. Updegraff, John L. Eddy, from Ohio; Daniel P. Haviland, David H. Bennett, Joseph Brown, Sarah Shotwell, Hannah Pier-son, from New York; Daniel Barker, from North Carolina; John Scott, John B. Crenshaw, from Baltimore; Daniel Williams, Olney Thompson, James Owen, from Indiana.—Ed.]

THE FAMILY OF WILLIAM CODDINGTON, GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND.

References made to the family of Governor Coddington, in the last BULLETIN, are not altogether correct. The following is taken from the genealogy[†] by the late Thomas C. Cornell, of Yonkers, N. Y., a careful historian, and descendant of the Governor:

William Coddington was three times married, but left no descendants except by his third wife, Anne Brinley.

He married, first, 1625, Mary, daughter of Richard Mosely, and had two children, Michael and Samuel, both of whom died in infancy.

He married, second, 1631, Mary . . . , and had three children, all dying young.

He married, third, at the age of forty-nine, about 1650, Anne Brinley, then twenty-two years old, daughter of Thomas and Anne (Wase) Brinley, who was born in 1628 and died May 9th, 1708.

Children of William and Anne Coddington:

I. William, born January 18th, 1651; died February 5th, 1689; unmarried. Served as Deputy Assistant and Governor.

II. (Major) Nathaniel, born May 23rd, 1653; died January, 1724; married Susanna Hutchinson (daughter of Edward, son of the celebrated Anne Hutchinson). Served as Deputy, &c. (See Austin, Dict. R. I.)

III. Mary, born May 16th, 1654; died March, 1693; married, December 1st, 1674, Peleg Sanford, and had descendants.

IV. Thomas, born November 5th, 1655; died March 4th, 1694; married, first, Priscilla Jefferay; married, second, Mary Howard, and had four children.

V. John, born November 24th, 1656; died June 1st, 1680.

VI. Noah, died, December 12th, 1658.

VII. Anne, died June 26th, 1660.

VIII. Anne, born July 20th, 1663; died December 4th, 1751.

[†]"Adam and Anne Mott: Their Ancestors and their Descendants."

Married, May 30th, 1682, Andrew Willett (born October 5th, 1655; died April 6th, 1712, son of Captain Thomas and Mary (Brown) Willett) and had five children.

The records show that the Mary Coddington interred in the Newport Burial Ground was probably the second wife. The Governor himself died November 1st, 1678, and was buried there on the 6th, according to the inscription on his tombstone:

Anne Coddington, third wife of the Governor, was an able and interesting woman. Her father was Auditor-General of the kings, Charles I, and Charles II, and his tombstone in the aisle of the church at Datchet, near Windsor, records his birth at Oxford; his marriage to Anne Wase, of Pettworth, in Sussex; and the fact that they had five sons and seven daughters. One of the latter married William Coddington, and another, Griselda—or Grissel—married Nathaniel Sylvester, of Shelter Island, a pair of whom another interesting tale might be written. They also gave shelter to the exiled Quakers. Soon after the execution of Mary Dyer, Anne Coddington was impelled to write a letter of remonstrance to John Endicott and the persecuting magistrates, dated Rhode Island, July 8th, 1660. Besse (Vol. II, p. 207) gives the entire text, which begins: "It is so with me, that I cannot any longer forbear to give you warning of the evil of your ways, that you are now walking in, both in making and putting in execution that wicked law of punishing and putting to Death those among you that for conscience sake, do declare the Word of the Lord," &c.

A hitherto unpublished letter (except in the genealogy referred to), is among the manuscripts of the family. It was written by Anne Coddington, at the age of fifty-four, when she had been a widow for four years, to her five surviving children, all married but her eldest son, William, about to be made Governor. She was a zealous and active member of Friends, and a minister.

"A few words more to you my children. . . . Husbands, love your wives as ye ought to do, and live in the fear of the Lord with them. Let there be no discontent or division between you, but bear with the infirmities of your wives, knowing they are the weaker vessels. Win them by your good example, and by meekness. Let no rash words proceed out of your mouth to

provoke them; but let all be done in the fear of the Lord. . . . Cherish them as Christ doth the Church, of which marriage is a type.

Wives, love your husbands and honour them as you ought to do, that you may be like unto Sara, whose daughters ye are if ye do well, and see that you be of meek and quiet spirit. . . . Follow not the fashions of this world, for they must pass away, for all that is in the world is the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye and the pride of life, all which is not of the Father.

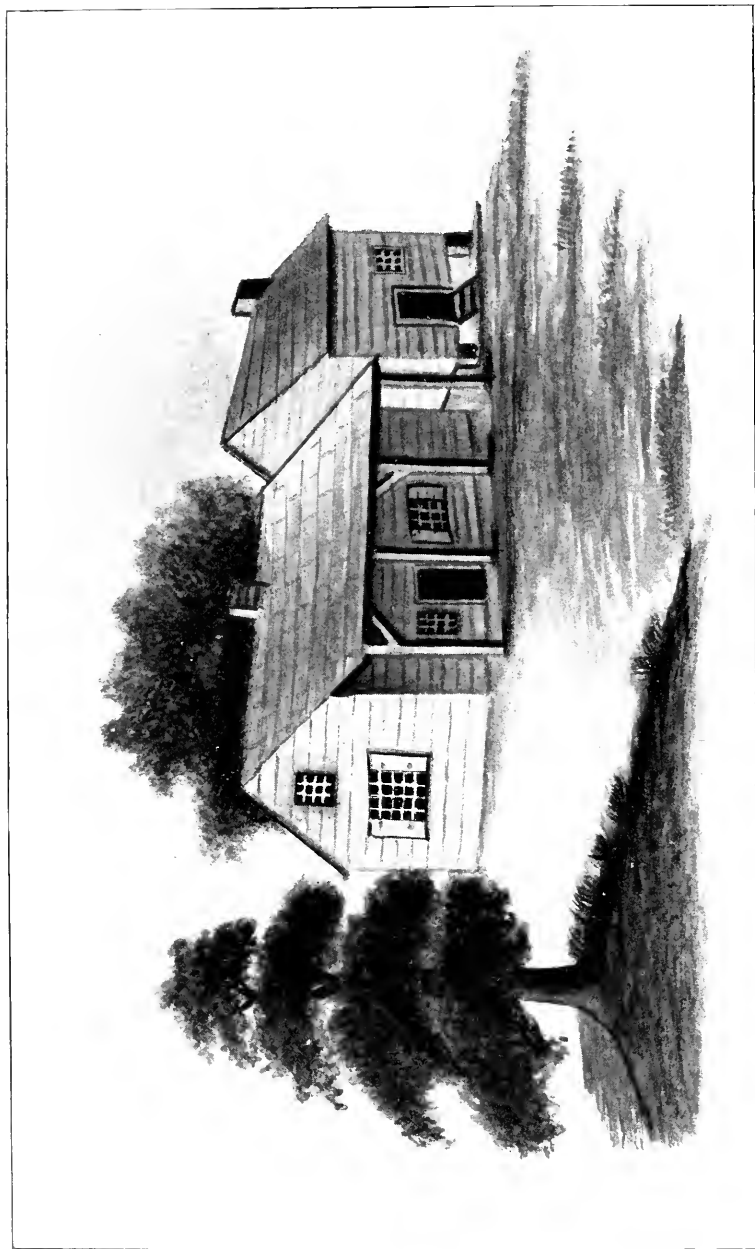
And as for your children, bring them up in the fear of the Lord. Let no unsavory words proceed from them in their youth, and let them from the breast be taught the fear of the Lord. Use not rigor toward them, but in the power and life of the Lamb, speak to them and reprove them. Bring them not up in the pride and fashions of this world, but so they may bear the Lord's yoke in their youth, and list them into the service, and give the Lord the strength of their days. . . . And once again, my children, I beseech you all to serve and fear the living God. . . . Let none of you blame me in your hearts for pressing it, as it is the fear of the Lord that keeps clean. . . . And you, my children, love one another. . . . I do not accuse you, neither do I thus press it, as if you had been faulty, for my soul praises the Lord for the love and unity that has been amongst you.

So the Lord of Heaven and earth redeem you from your vain conversations, and bless you with all Heavenly blessings in Christ Jesus; and bless you with the dew of Heaven above, and with the fatness of the Earth beneath and in the arms of His power I leave you, to be a Father unto you. My love in the Lord is unto you all.

Your loving mother,

ANNE CODDINGTON."

18th of 7 mo., 1682.



RESIDENCE OF NATHAN HUNT, NORTH CAROLINA

ANECDOTES RELATING TO NATHAN HUNT.

[Through the kindness of Joshua L. Baily, the editor has the privilege of placing before the readers of the BULLETIN, some anecdotes of Nathan Hunt during his visit to Great Britain, in 1820-1821. The writer of the letter probably had not thought of his words being published, but as there is much of general interest in them, we have taken his consent for granted. John Hilton, the writer, is one of the oldest and most respected members of London Yearly Meeting. He is a leader in the Temperance cause, not only among Friends, but in the National Temperance Alliance. In further illustration of Nathan Hunt's life a view of his house is reproduced for this number.]

My Dear Friend, Joshua L. Baily:

I am glad to hear from thee again. Please accept my warm thanks for No. 3 BULLETIN, FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY. I am glad to have a likeness and some particulars of Nathan Hunt. I have heard something about him from the late Samuel Rosling [1796-1885], of Reading, a kinsman of mine, a substantial Friend in high esteem. In the early part of his life he was a member of Southwark Meeting, now gone—Meeting House and all. He told me that one First-day morning the Meeting House yard was crowded with Friends, and he wondered what was the cause, but soon Nathan Hunt walked in. The fact that he intended to be there had got known, and Friends had flocked to the place. He said that they had silence till rather late, when Nathan Hunt rose and gave Friends a rather strong reprimand for running away from their own Meetings.

On another occasion at the same place, on a week-day, the place was crowded, and the weather was exceedingly hot. Nathan gave them a great sermon, with much energy. Immediately after the Meeting broke up, a gentleman, not a Friend, who had followed Nathan about, went up the room through the crowd, with, as Samuel Rosling described it, "a foaming pot of ale, and offered it to Nathan, who took it, had a good draught, and said, 'Well, Thomas, thou hast hit my mark.'" I don't know the date, but think it must have been before 1830. By the BULLETIN the use of alcoholic beverages was common in North Carolina at that time.

I have one more story which I should have hardly accepted had I not had it from a very careful Friend. Samuel Rosling told me that Nathan Hunt, accompanied by Peter Bedford,[†] an Elder, visited Epping week-day Meeting. Epping is a small town in Essex. Epping Meeting had long been, and has continued to be, very small, though some substantial Friends have belonged to it. On the occasion of the visit, three Friends were present, and to the dismay of Peter Bedford, Nathan Hunt said "This is a queer sort of a Meeting. One of you thinks himself the cleverest chap in the county; one spends all his time in gazing at the stars without thinking of Him who placed them where they are; and the other goes from his farm to the market and comes to Meeting to reckon up his gains." Now, Peter Bedford was afraid he had described them to Nathan Hunt, for the facts were—one was a school master, I think, at the time, but I am not sure; another was named Squire, an Astrologer, and who cast up the horoscope for Moore's Almanac, the standard almanac in England in my younger days, sold at 2s. 6d.; the third was a farmer, and some Friends did not think the description far wrong. I chanced once to tell the story to the late Shipley Neave, of Manchester, and he said, "That is quite correct, Peter Bedford related it to me himself."

I relate the stories as I had them, believing them to be absolutely accurate, and thinking they may be of some interest to thee as an American Friend. . . . I am keeping as well as I ought to expect in my 88th year, but am pretty much weather-bound during these winter and winterly months. I do not expect to get away from home much till the Spring.

With love, I am sincerely thine,

JOHN HILTON.

Dated, "Shore House, Shore Road, Hackney, New Year's Eve, 1907."

[†]Note. Peter Bedford (1780-1864) was one of those men of quiet power and influence who do so much good in the world. "He was greatly interested in the criminal classes, and gained the respect and esteem even of those whom he failed to reform. In some instances, when valuable property had been stolen, Peter Bedford was able to procure its restoration when constables and authorities tried their power in vain. One evening he was walking down Bishopsgate Street, and, a young pick-pocket seeing him, said to a comrade, 'There's a gentleman with a good watch, I'll be bound. I'll have it, too.' 'No, you won't,' said the other, 'that's good Mr. Bedford, and you shan't rob him anyhow.'"

LETTER OF THOMAS LLOYD TO PHILIP FORD, 1693.

Thomas Lloyd, the writer of the following letter, as is well known to all, familiar with the early history of Pennsylvania, was one of the most distinguished of her citizens. He came to the Colony in 1683 and for eight out of the eleven years he lived thereafter, occupied the highest offices in the province. He was at once appointed Master of the Rolls and member of the Council, and was afterward President of the Council, and for a time Deputy Governor—the only Friend who held that special office. Thomas Lloyd, of Dolobran, Montgomeryshire, Wales, was born about 1640, and came out in the ship “America,” sailing from London, June 10th, and arriving August 20th, 1683. He had for a fellow passenger, Francis Daniel Pastorius. He brought his wife and nine children with him—four sons and five daughters. His daughters all married men of prominence; only one of his sons (Thomas, Jr.) left descendants. He himself died of a fever in 1694. No man of the early years left a better record in both public and private life. He was an acceptable minister among Friends. The letter here printed, so far as known, for the first time, is from the original, in the possession of the editor of the BULLETIN. It is unusually valuable, from the fact that it refers to three subjects of the greatest interest—William Penn; the coming of Governor Fletcher, whom William and Mary appointed Governor of Pennsylvania during the short period when Penn was deprived of his province; and George Keith. It is also interesting as being addressed to Philip Ford, Penn’s rascally Secretary, whose true character neither Penn nor Lloyd ever dreamed of. The shrewdness and skillfulness of Lloyd’s treatment of Fletcher is evident from his reference to him. Towards Keith, Lloyd felt as bitterly as was possible for him to feel towards anyone. Keith had opposed him in every way, calling him “an impudent man and a pitiful governor,” and tauntingly asking him why he did not send him (Keith) to jail. The spelling and contractions are given as in the original, which is in perfect condition:

Thomas Lloyd to Philip Ford.

2^d: m^o: [April] 93.

To ffriend Ph. F.

Thy letters of the 5^{mo}. last, & of the 9th: m^o: by way of n. y. & by y^e plimoth Ketch w^h the Letter of y^e P: friends of the 9th: m^o: Superscribed to me, I recd abt a week Since, but had no Line from W: P: our proprietarie whom I have so long served for y^e Truth Sake, & y^e readyer because of y^e esteem I have of his Servise therein & my purpose is to Continue my well wishes & sincere respects towards him, as long as I shall have opportunity of expressing y^e same; notwithstanding all the seeming Slights, & discouragem^{ts} I have met wth Since I Came under him; He is near unto me tho he doth n^t well understand his best friends here; his Countenance of late as well as formerly, hath fortified Such ag^t: us, who are & have been uneasy in Church & State:—Thus far to thyself—

As to Coll. fletcher, he Sent me notice by a priuat l^r from an acquaintance of mine at n: york 4 days ago, that he rec'd l^{rs}. patent from y^e Queen to be Cap^t: Gen^l: & Gov^r: here, and y^t he intended to be here next week: I wrott in Answer next day, y^t I rec'd no mandat or Order from the K: Q: or Councel or any Line from the Proprietarie or Go^v: concerning y^e premises, however, he should haue y^e welcome of a neighb^r:ing Go^v: & when we came duly under him, I doubted not but he should meet w^h as much fidelity & Lawful Obedience in this Colony, as in any part of his governm^t: I finde no great encouragement (if any) from such who may be reputed as patriots or good fauorers of his Interest in these parts to assert, tho modestly, his present powers of Gouvernor: the p^{est} Councel & Magistrates y^t are fr^s. continue their kindness towards him, & would Serve him further if they Could: We purpose to Send a full acc^t: of affairs by S: Harris who is pre^paring for England & some of us as we may have respit: to S. H. be our privat Concerns & his [?] may Visit y^a next fall: As to G: K: the Breach long-desined & lately introduced by him, is wth: eagerness & unvariedness widened as much as in hit lyes by him: his wrath is fierce & his Anger cruel: You may Suppose him to be w^t: we know he is not: The Spirit wherein they are is wrong: it

draws from God as Certainly as its followers, are Separat'd from his people: They have no more unity wth: y^u.; than wth us did the Publique fr^s: understand his unfairness, & his Violence ag^t us, they would not have Sent their lrs. of the 9th: m^o: wth: y^e blotts, & interlineations therein (Superscribed to me) tho opened before Ed: Shippen & 6 or 7 friends more: thereby this disturbed man would Calumniate us to the Baptists & rable, of forgery, whereas the blurs & insertions seems to me in fav^r of him, & some^{wt}: to us rather the hand of the last Subscriber, however they did it among themselves, viz. the London friends: we are inocent, And we doubt not but the Sense of friends there, will come more Express to us in a short time: our friends in Barbados & of our neighboring Colonies, tho by no lines from us, yet from his Own unSavory books & pamphlets, have judg'd his Unchristianlike Sp^t: both by these publique and privat letters: As Sure as the Johns opposed (under fair pretext) the power of Truth as it is in Jesus So Certainly doth this Man: & however he may dally by Creeping Subtility wth: friends there, he is strangely degenerated & will never do Service for God in this unruly and disorderly frame: my God knows I wish him well, & would gladly receive him a sincere disciple into my bosom: but amongst all the ranks of Sober men I never mett wth: his frappish & abusive peer: Did y^u: there but see One halfe of the trash he hath published: the notion of his former Services would never stay y^u: from nauseating his disservice: He seeks to be Head of his Church who is not beheaded for the testimony of his Truth: Unless he speedily returns by deep Sorrow & deep repentance, we doubt not but he will Speedily wither, & become loathsome unto y^u: and when you understand things as they truly are, you will have no occasion to Censure our discipline: and had this Irruption happen'd there, Some had felt the Smart & weight of it more than they seem to be sensible of ours:—w^t abusive Construction he made of our worthy G. Whitehead's tenderness towards him in his privat letter A. C. sends him an acc^t: of wth: this Opportunity by way of Boston: viz.: whilst he had the Prpe on his side he did not much matter the Councel:—We are your brethren tho some may not know us: & Notwithstanding the Calumny of the falsehoods & reproaches we at pr^esent may lye under for some time you will find us not to be

the men represented tho none can be freed from such a reviling tongue: acq^t: G: W: y^t: I rec'd no lrs from him least it should be extracted: wth my dear Love to y^u both, & W: P: & friends, I have hardly time to read over

THO: LLOYD.—

Addressed

These
ffor phillip Ford
at Bow Lane
mercht:
London.—

BOOK NOTICES.

The Diaries of Edward Pease, edited by Sir Alfred E. Pease, London. Headley Brothers, 1907. 12mo., 407 pp.

This is a substantial attractive volume, illustrated by a number of portraits and a few views. The editor is the great-grandson of the subject of the book. Originally intended for private circulation, and afterward offered to the public, there is much detail that would not specially interest those personally unacquainted with the Pease family and its surroundings. Notwithstanding this, few can read the pages of this volume without intense respect for the sturdy North of England Quaker, so independent, often, as seems to us of the twentieth century, so narrow and puritanic, yet always bent on doing the right thing, no matter what might be the cost or result; often in spite of his training—broad-minded and sympathetic, and at all times deeply religious.

Born in 1767 and living in the possession of all his faculties until 1858, his life covered a long and extremely full period of human history. He took a deep interest in the important events of his time, and his contemporary comments are often shrewd and always interesting. His life was almost exactly contemporary with that of Nathan Hunt, of North Carolina (1758-1853), a sketch of whose life appeared in the last number of

the BULLETIN. There is a certain similarity in the character of these two men that must strike every one familiar with the life of each, only emphasized by the difference in the opportunities and surroundings of each.

Edward Pease is known to all readers of Smiles's Biography of Stephenson as the "Father of British Railways." It was he who saw the value of Stephenson's work, and furnished the encouragement and means for starting, in 1825, the first practical, public railroad—the Stockton & Darlington Railway; and so, in a sense, he is the father of all railways everywhere.

Beginning life as a wool merchant, and following that business with success, he was led into broader fields, his keen business instinct perceiving the possibilities in iron, coal and railways, thus enabling him to lay the foundations of those widely-extended interests so well known in England to-day as "Pease & Partners" of Darlington.

For the readers of the BULLETIN perhaps as interesting a feature as any is the picture his Diaries give of the change so very gradual, from the Quakerism of the eighteenth century to that of the nineteenth century. It is true that his diaries which have been preserved begin with 1824, but the spirit of the previous century is always evident. One can but feel that if he could have allowed himself greater liberty of thought and action he would have been even a greater power for righteousness than he was. With many Friends of his day he could not believe that it was right for Friends to enter public life. When his son Joseph, in 1832, was about to offer himself as a candidate for Member of Parliament, he told him, says the son:

"That unless I was wholly regardless of all parental counsel, the advice of all my best friends, the domestic happiness of my family, my duties as a husband and parent, and a member of the Society of Friends, I could not for a moment entertain the idea of yielding, under any contingency, to become a representative of my countrymen in Parliament."

It speaks well for the father, that after this appeal he did not interfere; and for the son, that listening to it respectfully, and giving it due weight, he felt that he was called to fulfill a duty; and, so, doing his best to remove all objectionable features from the election, he stood and was elected, taking his seat as the first Quaker admitted to Parliament. It is almost needless to say that the son's course was justified by future events.

Some extracts from the "Diaries and Letters" will be of interest:

"3rd mo. 25, 1811. Did you hear of Paul Cuffee, a black friend, having sailed from America in his own vessel (and his ship's crew are all black friends), for the west of Africa; his object is to bring the produce of that country to London, having obtained permission from the Government to sell it at a low rate of duty." (p. 54.)

The following shows how history repeats itself; one might almost fancy himself in New York or Philadelphia in the fall of 1907.

"11th mo. 26th, 1819. The national difficulty there is just now for want of silver is much felt by us; how do you get along. We represented to the house in Lombard Street the trouble we had to get our workmen's wages paid; they sent our letter to Lord Liverpool, who had kindly ordered the Mint to send us £500. The disposition to hoard has soon taken it up, so that we are resorting to checks on J. Backhouse and Co. for 5s. ea.; they to give a one-pound note for four of them." (p. 62.)

"Saturday, Jan. 23, 1847. [The printed heading in his diary.] Engaged in writing to sundry Friends—to Thos. Evans, of Philadelphia, encouraged him to print an edition of his 'Exposition of the Faith and Doctrine of Friends.' He proposes to print 1,500, to cost \$600; I agree to take 500, and contribute \$200. This very valuable work merits a large circulation." (p. 236.)

"Friday, April 7, 1848. At one time and another for the last four years, my attention has been turned on publishing the life of David Sands, I received from his daughter, Cath. Ring. The work is now complete through the attention of Edward Harris, of Newington, copying the whole ms., and George Richmond, of Newcastle, attending to the printing of 2,500 copies, all sold and very favorably received by Friends." (p. 255.)

In 1811, when he was 44, he was, after very considerable, and indeed, bitter opposition, appointed an Elder. This office he felt was one of much responsibility, and he discharged its duties with great faithfulness for many years. He took the deepest interest in the Society of Friends, and devoted much time, thought and strength in its service. With one more quotation worthy of the "Early Friends," we shall close. He is speaking of a Meeting at Bridgewater not far from Bristol:

"Dec. 4, 1850. The meeting was injured by an immoderate flow of words for about three-quarters of an hour. On the Friend taking his seat, I may say, I think, I was moved to stand up and say, 'Now, dear Friends, let us endeavor to let God arise that His enemies may be scattered and flee before Him.' The meeting then appeared to settle well." (p. 287.)

"Quaker and Courtier; The Life and Work of William Penn," by Mrs. Colquhoun Grant, London, 1907. John Murray.

Two or three years ago a life of Penn, by A. C. Buell, was published so unjust and inaccurate that would-be readers were warned against it by the Friends' periodicals generally. It is now an unpleasant duty to perform a similar service in regard to the Life by Mrs. Grant, lately published by the well-known firm of Murray. The author claims to be the lineal descendant of Penn, but if so, that fact has not given her ability or judgment for writing a memoir of her great ancestor. The book appears to be even more inaccurate concerning Friends than Buell's work, though more appreciative of Penn. The accuracy of the book may be judged by the following brief extracts. Friends, she says, "admit two ceremonies, water baptism and the Lord's Supper." "A Yearly Meeting was held in London in 1675, for the purpose of assistance in cases of suffering for conscience sake; and this practice was continued to be observed until 1797." The author appears to be ignorant of Penn's splendid tribute to George Fox, in his preface to *For's Journal*, for she writes: "The sect who had at first gathered around him did not long entrust the defence of their principles to such a senseless enthusiast as George Fox, who, however, continued to preach till he was imprisoned at Nottingham, in 1647."

It is quite time that a full, accurate, appreciative life of Penn should be written in accordance with modern methods of research. "Janney's Life," excellent as it is, leaves much to be desired from the modern point of view, and while "Stoughton's Life" is a sympathetic book, it is by an outsider. A thoroughly satisfactory life of Penn must be the work of one who can write from the inside.

"Abraham Lincoln; a Biography," by Henry Bryan Binns. *Temple Biographies.* London, J. M. Dent & Co.; New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1907. 12mo., 379 pp.

This volume is interesting, as being written by a Friend, and so far as known, the author says, as being, the "first serious attempt by an Englishman to portray on any full sized canvas the greatest of the popular statesmen of the last century, the most notable figure among the leaders of the English-speaking democ-

racy." It is written from a sympathetic point of view, and so far as examined, seems to be remarkably accurate for one who is not familiar with America and American ways by long residence in "the States." The author has pictured the man rather than his times; and has wisely dwelt as little as possible upon the details of the Civil War. As might be expected from the biographer and admirer of Walt Whitman, the references to him are not few. His admiration for Lincoln is certainly one of Whitman's best characteristics.

ELIJAH COFFIN.

Elijah Coffin, whose portrait forms the frontispiece to this number of the BULLETIN, was born in Guilford County, North Carolina, Eleventh month 17th, 1798. Opportunities for education were very limited in that neighborhood, but his energy surmounted all difficulties, and he was able to begin teaching school when he was nineteen. In 1820 he married Naomi Hiatt, forming a happy union, severed by his death forty-two years later. The young couple settled on a farm near New Garden Meeting House. In 1822, when twenty-four years old, he was appointed Clerk of North Carolina Yearly Meeting.

His great aversion to slavery and the hope of bettering his condition led to his removal to Indiana in 1824. His means were small, and he and his little family settled on the Whitewater in a "log cabin about twenty feet square, with no window and but one door; the only opportunity to read during the long winter evenings being by the light of a large wood fire." It was not long, however, before conditions became more favorable. He resumed teaching until 1828, when he went into business.

He at once took a prominent place among Friends in Indiana, and in 1827 was appointed Clerk of Indiana Yearly Meeting, an office he filled for thirty-two years.

He was greatly interested throughout his life in Biblical Instruction, and as early as 1817 helped to start a Bible School in North Carolina. He was one of the founders of the Boarding-School which became Earlham College. He died First month 22, 1862, having been for forty years one of the most highly respected and influential Friends in America.

“EXILES IN VIRGINIA.”

The incident of the Friends who were exiled during the Revolutionary War from Philadelphia to Virginia on a charge of treasonable conduct, forms an important episode in Quaker, as well as Revolutionary history. The exile lasted from the 2nd of Ninth month, 1777, to the 30th of Fourth month, 1778. It is fully described, accompanied by documentary evidences, in Thomas Gilpin's "Exiles in Virginia, etc., 1777-1778, Philadelphia, Published for the Subscribers, 1848."

The injustice of this treatment must be acknowledged by everyone who really investigates the matter, which few have done. Even the late Frederick D. Stone, the well-known authority on Pennsylvania History, is scarcely fair in his chapter in Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America (6: 393), while Winsor himself, in his bibliographical notes is quite unjust (6: 417; 8: 486).

The following letters do not appear in "Exiles in Virginia," and are printed here, possibly for the first time. They are copied from the originals in the archives of Baltimore Yearly Meeting (Eutaw St.).—ED.

Winchester 10th Mo. 3d. 1777

Esteemed Friends [Robert Pleasants and Edward Stabler]*

The manner of our being brought hither being fully set forth in the paper here with sent you we think it not necessary to add any thing thereon. The Occasion for our writing is to engage your attention to our suffering case, & your Brotherly regard and assistance in the exertion of your endeavors to obtain an agreeable answer to our adress to the Govenor & Council of which we send you. we are now in hope of being suffered to remain in quiet until the Receipt of his answer to a letter wrote to him by the Leutenant of of this County, though it is probable we must remain as at present we are Confined to the house & yard of Philip Bush, under so strict a guard that none of our Friends are permitted to Converse with us, if you succeed in obtaining such instructions as will afford us more liberty a free

*For full account of this episode see the "Exiles," etc., as above; Bowden, "Hist. of Friends in America," 2: 313-329; also Penna. Mag. 6: 364; Histor. Mag. 9: 277.

Communication of your advice & sentiments, with such intelligence as you may find it proper to communicate to us, or either of us will be acceptable. We apprehend, if your Governor & Council, have not received any request from the President & Council of Pennsylvania to receive us & provide for us, they will be induced to consider the imposition attempted on them & the Injustice done to us, in such manner as to determine them to afford us their protection & safe Conduct to return to our Country. The Expence of which we shall be willing to pay; though we were brought hither and promised to be supported at the Public Expence. The malevolence of our persecutors is very [great] in sending us at this difficult time, so far from our nearest Friends when if they had really any such apprehensions as they pretended, they might have secured us effectually in divers parts of our province within their own Jurisdiction, but they were desirous of placing us under the immediate power of Congress by whose advice & Information against divers of us they became instruments of so great oppression.

Our fellow sufferers join with us in much love & respect.

We are your affectionate Friends &

Brethren

Samuel Pleasants

Isr: Pemberton

Tho Wharton

John Pemberton

P. S. the Lieutenant of this County thinks we may be safely accomodated at Leesburg, or Fredericksburg but we prefer returning to pensilva

Winchester 22d 12th mo. 1777

Esteemed Friend

Robert Pleasants *

As thou was't acquainted with our Critical situation while here, & the Measures we had under Consideration to pursue in order to obviate [?] the sufferings to which we may be subjected, we now inform thee that we delivered to Alexander White on Seventh day afternoon our Memorials and other necessary papers to enable him to transact the Business he had kindly undertaken & he hath proceeded on his journey to York and Lancaster and as we

*"Exiles in Virginia," p. 171, where this letter is referred to.

*See "Exiles in Virginia," pp. 183, 194, 196.

apprehend a further application to the Governor & Council of Virginia is necessary we herewith send our Memorial to them, & desire thee to assist us by proceeding with it to Williamsburg and presenting it on our behalf and with the assistance of such as thou Judgest suitable endeavor to obtain for us a speedy & favorable answers, which we desire thee immediately to send us by express—If thou canst prevail with John Hough or some other prudent Friend of Fairfax Meeting to accompany thee & assist in executing this interesting business it will be greatly acceptable to us. It may be necessary to apply to such Persons as you are acquainted with who have an Influence with the Governor & Council & are well disposed to our Injured cause to give their advice & assistance & assistance for our benefit and as we are persuaded of thy Sympathy with us in our present difficult situation we rely on thy best endeavor to best endeavor to serve us, but should you not be able to succeed in preventing the execution of the present orders of the Board of War, we hope the Governor will be prevailed with to give such Directions to the officers in these Counties as will enjoin them to procure us Humane treatment from the Inhabitants on the way & at the Place where we are to be stationed & that agreeable to what was first promised regard should be had to Our Characters & Circumstances.

For ourselves & Fellow Sufferers. We are thy Loving Friends.

Isr. Pemberton,
 Jams Pemberton,
 John Pemberton,
 Henry Drinker,
 Saml. Pleasants.

We send thee besides the papers to be deliver'd the Governor, for thy own Service two of our printed Narratives Some of our Protests agt. Sending us away.
 Copy of our first address to Governor Henry.
 Copy of the Warrent of President & Council for sending us hither Comparing thes with the late order of Council of warr shews they are about to inflict a punishment greater than the P X C odrer'd Capt. John Willis We are told lives near Fredericksburg the obligation he is under to Owen Jones for obtaining his liberty may perhaps induce him, if he has any interest to use it for his son.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

ORIGIN OF THE FIVE YEAR'S MEETING.—In 1683 the following Minute was adopted in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting:

"It being desired to hold a general meeting of Friends from New England to Carolina the meeting appoints:

William Penn,
Christopher Taylor,
Samuel Jennings,
James Harrison,
Thomas Olive and
Mahlon Stacy."

to make arrangement "by writing to Friends or speaking." and inform London Yearly Meeting.

This was doubtless the first attempt to nationalize Quakerism in America. The movement apparently did not result as desired probably owing to geographical conditions. It is pleasant to speculate as to the results on the Society if the meeting or meetings had been held.

Penn's mind was always evolving comprehensive schemes. In 1696 he announced a plan for a union of the Colonies, through a congress to meet in New York, made up of delegates from all the provinces. It is often said that Franklin, in 1754, at the Albany Conference, proposed the first plan for Union, but Penn ante-dated him by sixty years. In the same way his international Congress proposed in 1693 presaged rather definitely the Hague Congresses of recent years.

I. S.

In continuation of the above note, the following extracts from the papers by the late Joseph Walton on "The Eastern Shore of Chesapeake Bay," which appeared in *The Friend* (Philadelphia), in the course of the year 1891, will be interesting. "The result of this movement was the appointment in 1685 of representatives by Herring Creek Quarterly Meeting, which included those Friends in Maryland, west of Chesapeake Bay." These Friends brought a Minute of their appointment. In this document is one paragraph which may be quoted: "We received your Epistle dated Philadelphia, the 24th of the Seventh Month (9th Month, new style), which was communicated to our last Yearly Meeting in the Third Month: with which our said meeting had good unity; and finding ourselves together with you, concerned for the peace and prosperity of the Church of Christ in these parts, did therefore appoint that two Friends should be chosen by each Quarterly Meeting and sent to your Yearly Meeting for the future."

"Although the proposal for a general meeting to be held yearly met with some favor, yet the practical inconvenience of it, at a time when there were no such facilities for journeying as now exist, but distant travel involved great fatigue and exposure, and considerable danger; prevent-

ed it from ever becoming general."—*The Friend* (Phila.), Vol. 65: 138, 139.

THE SCOTCH COLLEGE AT PARIS.—Robert Barclay is said to have attended this. Where can any particular concerning the institution be found other than in the sketch prefixed to Barclay's Works? Is it still in existence?

FIXED PRICES.—It is often said that Friends are responsible for the introduction into England of fixed prices for commodities. Barclay, in his "Inner Life," p. 319, attributes the statement to E. Jane Whately, daughter of the Archbishop, and, as usual, "traces" the practice to the early Baptists. Can any one give some other authority for this statement, and also give instances of the practice in the journals and literature of Friends? The only direct mention that the inquirer is aware of is in the Journal of William Edmundson, in the year 1654, where he writes, "In the spring following [1654] I removed with my family from *Antrim*, to live in the county of *Ardmagh*, there took a House and Grazing for my Cattle and kept a Shop of some Merchant-goods, where I became the Talk and Gazing-stock of, and to, the People. . . . The keeping to one Price in the selling of Goods and to the First asking without Abatement, was a great Stumbling-block to most sorts of People, and made them stand at a distance from buying for some-time, until they saw further into the Justice of the manner there-

of." (Pages 12-13, edition 1715.) There are many references in *Fox's Journal and Epistles* to Justice and Truth in business relations, but "fixed prices" are not mentioned so far as known.

WHITTIER CENTENARY. — The hundredth anniversary of Whittier's birth (12th Month 17, 1907) was widely celebrated in the United States, especially in the schools. Very many of these observed the day by recitations of selections from Whittier's poems, by essays, and by addresses. In the United States no poets of America, and perhaps no poets at all, are better known or are held in as affectionate remembrance as Whittier and Longfellow. Of the two, Whittier is unquestionably the most distinctly American. Indeed, he may be said to be the most American of all our poets. Such lyrics as "The Barefoot Boy," "My Playmate," "In School Days," "The Witch of Wenham," "Among the Hills," and such poems as "Snowbound," "Abraham Davenport," "Mabel Martin," and others, never could have been written outside of New England, which he has thus perpetuated in his verse. His skill in the use of place-names is only excelled by Scott. "Marblehead," "Wenham Lake," "Kenoza Lake," "Merrimac," "Rivermouth," "Bearcamp Water," "Ramothe Hill," are enshrined in his poems as surely as the place-names of Scotland are in the poems of Scott and Burns.

Among the celebrations that at Haverford College was interest-

ing from an historical point of view. An original portrait of the poet, painted in the winter of 1836-1837 (while Whittier was in Philadelphia), by Bass Otis, a pupil of the well-known Gilbert Stuart, was presented to the college by Samuel R. Shipley, of Philadelphia. An etching from this portrait forms the frontispiece to volume I of the collected edition of Whittier's poems in four volumes. It was selected by the poet as the best portrait of himself at that period of his life. The portrait is a small one ($7\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ inches) and represents the poet sitting at a table with a quill in his hand. Little more than the head is reproduced in the etching. Rufus M. Jones gave an appreciative address at the time of the formal presentation.

Life size portraits in oil, copies from the originals, of Peter Col-linson, and Dr. John Fothergill were presented also by Samuel R. Shipley. Dr. Spencer Trotter, and President Isaac Sharpless gave appropriate addresses.

"THE MINUTES OF THE ASSEMBLY OF PENNSYLVANIA."—"1706, 10th mo. 14th.

The house met: the Speaker together with all the members present, took and subscribed to, the declaration and profession of faith prescribed by law."

The last paragraph of the declaration reads thus: "And we, the said subscribing representatives, and each of us for himself, do solemnly and sincerely profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus

Christ, his eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God blessed for evermore. And we acknowledge the Holy Scriptures to be given by divine inspiration."

Information is desired as to the author and origin of this "profession of faith" and its requirement *by law*.

H. H. SWIFT.

HOME OF MARY DYER.—In the Journal of Daniel Wheeler, under date of Sixth Month, 25th, 1839, he writes:

"Came to Lynn by way of Providence and Boston, arriving about sunset. Before reaching Providence, the site of the dwelling and burying place of Mary Dyer was shown me, and before crossing the ferry to East Boston, the place where she was executed with Marmaduke Stevenson and William Robinson."

Is the locality of this ancient residence of William and Mary Dyer definitely known at the present time?

Washington, First Month 15th, 1908. QUÆ RE.

A FRIENDS' MEETING IN FANEUIL HALL.—Eighth Month 1st, 1755.

"I dropped my pen yesterday, under a weighty concern to appoint an evening meeting in this place; and upon its being mentioned to the magistrates they cheerfully offered, either one of their places of worship, or the town-hall, saying that our house was too small to accommodate the people who in-

clined to come.¹

"I found more freedom to accept the hall, and had a very large meeting in the evening, at which were present about two thousand people, and among them nearly all the magistracy of the place, several of their ministers and principal people. It was a time never to be forgotten—the power and wisdom of Truth was a canopy over the meeting, and I believe the Truth itself gained great ground."

"One of their ancient professors said pretty loud at the close of the meeting. 'I thank God that I have once heard the Gospel of life and peace preached in its purity as it hath been this day.'"

Extract from a letter of Samuel Fothergill to his brother and sister, Dr. John and Ann Fothergill. Dated, Boston, 2nd of Eighth Month, 1755.

A FRIENDS' MEETING ON THE GREEN AT HARVARD COLLEGE.—Fourth Month 20th (June) 1704.

Many Friends and others who came at the time appointed, had been put out by the sheriff from the room in the Inn, which had been secured for the meeting....The account states: "Accordingly, we went into the street, not knowing where we should pitch; but proceeding along, we came to a fair dry green, before the buildings of the College, where was a large

spreading oak; and under that we sat down upon the ground, and abundance of people came and sat down with us.² I stood up next,—being a stranger, they seemed still more attentive. Many students of the College being there, they were sent for by the president, and some of them went to him; but others remained in the meeting, and several of those who went out returned before it was ended". "I concluded the meeting in prayer to God for them all, both magistrates and ministers, the college and people". "I must say for the young students that they did behave themselves better, and much more like a moral education, at least, nay, more like Christians too, than those at Cambridge or Oxford, in old England, or at Edinburgh, Glasgow, or Aberdeen in Scotland.

"Some of them being very solid and generally very attentive.... I hope this meeting was of some service among them, and that was all we desired."

From Life of Thomas Story, Friends' Library, Vol. 10.

WILLIAM OR THOMAS BURLING.—Where can an account of this Friend be found? He is said to have introduced the subject of slavery into the Yearly Meeting on Long Island annually from 1680 to 1700. He was a strong advocate of anti-slavery measures.

¹In the summer of 1656, ninety-nine years earlier,—Mary Fisher and Ann Austin were in Boston jail, *with the windows boarded up to prevent their speaking to the people.*

²Thomas Story, First Recorder of Philadelphia, and appointed by William Penn, "A Member of the Council of State, Keeper of the Great Seal, and Master of the Rolls, etc."

ANNUAL MEETING.

1908.

The annual meeting of the Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia was held in the large Committee Room of Twelfth Street Meeting House on the evening of First Month, twenty-seventh, 1908.

Routine business consisted of the presentation of the reports of the Treasurer and Auditing Committee, and of the Nominating Committee.

The President, Isaac Sharpless, introduced the subject of the address of the evening by remarks, explanatory of the history of the Philadelphia Counterpart of the Boston Tea Party in 1773.

Selections from original letters relative to this event, in possession of Thomas B. Taylor, were read by him, with interesting comments thereupon. These were largely business letters, between merchants of Philadelphia and New York, referring to the feeling and attitude of the people toward the import tax upon tea.

The firm of James & Drinker of Philadelphia, consisting of Abel James, son-in-law of Thomas Chalkley and Henry Drinker, was represented in their correspondence.

The President followed with a few supplementary remarks, and thanked Thomas B. Taylor on behalf of the Society for his interesting presentation.

John T. Morris was introduced and kindly exhibited a picture of Chalkley Hall, Frankford, Pa., and two pictures illustrating the Boston Tea Party, one from an American and the other from an English point of view. He also exhibited a cup and saucer, once belonging to Thomas Chalkley, and a silver porringer made from his silver buttons and buckles.

Amelia M. Gummere gave a brief explanation of a number of old prints and pictures on exhibit referring to this period in Philadelphia History.

The meeting was largely attended and much interest was shown.

M. S. A.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER OF FRIENDS'
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA FOR
THE YEAR ENDING FIRST MONTH 16th, 1908.

Dr.

| | | |
|-------------|--|-----------------|
| 1907 | | |
| 1st Mo. 21. | To balance in the hands of the Treasurer..... | \$178.05 |
| | Dues received from members | 259.00 |
| | Contributions received from members, in addition to their Annual Dues | 73.35 |
| | Life membership fees (two) | 100.00 |
| | From sale of copies of the "Bulletin"..... | 4.77 |
| | Interest on Deposits | 5.11 |
| | Total Debits | <u>\$620.28</u> |

Cr.

By cash paid as follows:—

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| For stationery and postage..... | \$ 15.95 |
| Printing circulars for Annual Meeting of 1907 | 7.90 |
| Printing and issuing "Bulletin," No. 2..... | 139.51 |
| Printing and issuing "Bulletin," No. 3..... | 107.32 |
| Total payments | <u>\$270.68</u> |
| Leaving a balance in the Treasurer's hands on 1st Mo. 16th, 1908, of..... | 349.60 |
| (Of which \$100 is derived from life membership fees.) | |

J. SNOWDEN RHOADS, *Treasurer.*

We have examined the accounts of J. Snowden Rhoads, Treasurer, and have found them to be correct, there being a balance on hand of \$349.60 on First Mo. 16th, 1908.

FRANCIS R. TAYLOR,
WALTER BRINTON,
Auditing Committee.

OFFICERS OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF PHILADELPHIA.

President, Isaac Sharpless.

Vice-Presidents, Jonathan Evans, Abby Newhall.

Secretary-Treasurer, Mary S. Allen, 142 N. Sixteenth St.,
Phila.

COUNCILLORS TO SERVE UNTIL 1909.

Albert T. Bell.

Frances B. G. Branson.

Francis R. Cope, Jr.

Helen Hopkins Jones.

Sarah E. Moore.

Frances Tatum Rhoads.

COUNCILLORS TO SERVE UNTIL 1910.

Joshua L. Baily.

Amelia M. Gummere.

William F. Wickersham.

James Emlen.

Lucy B. Roberts.

Samuel N. Rhoads.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

Members will kindly notify the Secretary of changes of addresses, or of any inaccuracies in this list.

Acton, Martha W., 503 Hansberry St., Germantown, Pa.
 Albertson, Mary A., 3940 Brown St., Phila.
 Allen, Clement E., Moylan, Pa.
 Allen, Elizabeth S., 115 N. 18th St., Phila.
 Allen, Mary E., M. D., 1245 South 49th St., Phila.
 Allen, Mary S., 142 N. 16th St., Phila.
 Allen, Samuel L., Moorestown, N. J.
 Allen, Sarah H., Moorestown, N. J.
 Alsop, David G., 409 Chestnut St., Phila.
 Alsop, Esther K., Lansdowne, Pa.
 Alsop, Margaretta S., Haverford, Pa.

Bacon, Anna D., Ashley, Torresdale, Phila.
 Bacon, Helen R., Ashley, Torresdale, Phila.
 Bacon, Herbert M., Torresdale, Phila.
 Bailey, Annie T., 206 Hanover St., Trenton, N. J.
 Bailey, George, Jr., West Chester, Pa.
 Baily, Albert L., Haverford, Pa.
 Baily, Hezekiah B., 315 Union Trust Bldg., Cincinnati, O.
 Baily, Joshua L., 32 S. 15th St., Phila., or Ardmore, Pa.
 Baily, William L., 421 Chestnut St., Phila.
 Balderston, Elizabeth P., 1835 Arch St., Phila.
 Barr, Daisy B., Fairmount, Indiana.
 Barrett, Don C., Haverford, Pa.
 Barrett, M. Frances, Haverford, Pa.
 Bartlett, Jane W., 234 N. 20th St., Phila.
 Bartlett, J. Henry, 234 N. 20th St., Phila.
 Bell, Albert T., Chalfonte, Atlantic City, N. J.
 Biddle, Elizabeth, 1427 Arch St., Phila.
 Biddle, John W., Media, Pa.
 Biddle, Samuel, 1427 Arch St., Phila.
 Blanchard, Eliza T., Bellefonte, Pa.
 Borton, C. Walter, 409 Chestnut St., Phila.
 Branson, Craig R., 302 W. Berry St., Fort Wayne, Ind.
 Branson, Frances B. G., Rosemont, Pa.
 Branson, Thomas F. (M. D.), Rosemont, Pa.
 Brinton, Walter, Frankford, Pa.
 *Brown, David J.

*Deceased.

Brown, Henry T., Moorestown, N. J.
Brown, Mary Willets, 176 W. Coulter St., Germantown, Pa.
Brown, N. Howland, 918 Chestnut St., Phila.
Brown, Robert P., 176 W. Coulter St., Germantown, Pa.

Cadbury, Emma, 1633 Race St., Phila.
Cadbury, Joel, 1502 Green St., Phila.
Cadbury, Richard T., 409 Chestnut St., Phila.
Carey, James, Jr., 838 Park Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
Carey, Margaret T., 1004 Cathedral St., Baltimore, Md.
Carter, John Pim, E. Fourth St., Media, Pa.
Cary, John R., Roland Park, Baltimore, Md.
Cheyney, Jesse S., Jr., Straight Creek, Ky.
Child, Lucy B., 6th and Noble Sts., Phila., Pa.
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THE OLD BOWNE HOUSE, FLUSHING, LONG ISLAND, IN 1906

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia

Contents

| | |
|---|----|
| Frontispiece, The "Old Bowne House," Flushing, Long Island, in 1906 | |
| John Bowne of Flushing, Charles Yarnall | 44 |
| Illustration—The Flushing Oaks and Bowne House | 57 |
| Inter-Yearly Meeting Correspondence in the Eighteenth Century | 68 |
| Letter of George Whitehead to Thomas Lloyd and Arthur Cook, 1691 | 71 |
| Quaker Printers and Booksellers in the Seventeenth Century. | 73 |
| Notes and Queries | 78 |
| Parentage of the Early Friends—Scotch College in Paris—Will of Lewis Morris, 1691—Lewis Morris—Inventory of Lewis Morris's Estate—Release of Friends by Charles II—John Bunyan—Erratic Spelling—Quaker Records—Journal of the Friends' Historical Society—Petition of John Bowne and Henry Willis—The Last Day of the Yearly Meeting (Philadelphia), 1812 | |

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JOHN BOWNE OF FLUSHING, 1627-1695.

BY CHARLES YARNALL.

INTRODUCTION.

BY THE EDITOR.

The following paper on John Bowne * is part of a longer one entitled, "John Bowne, His Contemporaries and Descendants," written in 1852 by the late Charles Yarnall (1800-1877), who was himself a descendant of John Bowne. Charles Yarnall was for many years one of the prominent Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. He was highly educated, widely read, and was instinct with literary taste and appreciation. He was one of the founders of *The Friend* (Philadelphia) in 1827, and for a number of years contributed to its columns over the signature "C." He helped also to establish the *Friends' Review* in 1847, which in 1894 was merged into *The American Friend*. He was deeply interested in education, was one of the founders of Haverford College, for thirty-eight years a Manager, and for thirty-four years Secretary of the Board. He was largely instrumental in the re-organization of the William Penn Charter School in 1875, and always took a deep interest in its welfare.

In regard to the present paper, he writes in a memorandum attached: "These Memorials of the common ancestor of the Bowne's are selected from original papers preserved in the family mansion at Flushing, Long Island. This house was built in the year 1661.....The Yearly, Quarterly, and Monthly meetings for the Province of New York were long held in this house. In it the most distinguished ministers of the Society of Friends.....found a resting place, enjoyed social communion, and preached the unsearchable riches of Christ."

His manuscript, with others, has come into the keeping of the Editor, and it seems worthy of reproduction in the pages of the BULLETIN.

The "Bowne House" is now owned by Mary (E. Mitchell) Parsons, whose husband, the late Robert Bowne Parsons (ob. 1898), was a lineal descendant of John Bowne. Her daughter writes of the house under date of "April 14, 1908," "It contains the same old furniture, china and papers; nothing has been changed that we could prevent."

The notes referring to printed authorities have been supplied by the Editor. In general, the reader may be referred to Bowden's History of Friends in America, London, 1850, 1:308-338; Bishop's New England Judged, ed. 1702-3, pp. 213-220; Besse's Sufferings; George Fox's Journal folio ed 1694, pp. 365, 370; Bi-Centenary, edition 2: 167, 174; Croese's History of the Quakers, Latin or English edition, 1696, Part III.

*Note. As the spelling of that day was largely phonetic, the name occurs as Bowne, Bown, Boun, Bound.

John Bowne was born at Matlock, Derbyshire, England, March 9th, 1627. He was the son of Thomas Bowne, of whom little is known, except that in the year 1649, he, with his daughter, Dorothy, accompanied his son John on his voyage to Boston, and that he subsequently lived and died at his house in Flushing. John Bowne was not in affluent circumstances when he reached America. The following entry occurs at the beginning of a journal kept by him: "Monday 23d Jany 1649—I entered into Mr. Philips' Service, for which Service I am to have five Shillings for every week, one half in money and one half in wine to myself or whom I shall assign, and also my diet and washing and lodging for so long as I shall please to stay with him, I being free at every week's end, if I will." After a brief visit to his native land, he appears to have settled at Flushing, Long Island, in the year 1656, where his sister Dorothy had previously married Edward Farrington.

In the year 1656, May 7th, John Bowne was married to Hannah Pheaks [or Feaks, or Feeks], of Flushing.

It appears that a few members of the Society of Friends had found their way to the infant settlement, and were in the practice of meeting together in the woods for Divine Worship. Hannah Bowne became attached to them and was received into membership. Her husband, attracted by curiosity, went on an occasion when this little company were met, to look at them, and while there was so struck by the beauty and simplicity of their worship that he invited them to meet at his own house in future. Nor was it long before he joined them himself, influenced not only by love for his wife, but by the conviction that their principles were those of primitive Christianity. Well, indeed, was it for him that this change of religious profession was the result of settled belief. It was soon to be brought to a severe test, and if it bore that trial of its strength, it was only because "he endured as seeing Him that is invisible."

It is not easy to account for the sudden outbreak of religious persecution in the colony of New Netherland. Religious toleration had always been the policy of the Dutch Government, and there was little in the phlegmatic habits of the people to induce them to interfere with the doctrinal opinions of their neighbors.

Governor, Peter Stuyvesant, a military man indifferent to sectarian controversy, but sorely tried by the encroaching spirit shown by his Puritan neighbors, was solely bent upon maintaining the peace of the colony, whose position was daily becoming more insecure. In the year 1656, two travelling Friends had landed at New Amsterdam, called upon the Governor, and been civilly received. But a few days after, one of them, Robert Hodgson, having crossed over to Long Island, was there arrested as a Quaker, sent back and committed to prison, and the Governor was induced, by what agency does not appear, to subject him to the most barbarous treatment, so that his life was in great danger. It is, perhaps, no want of charity to ascribe to the Puritan settlers on the island the instigation of this severe persecution.... The settlers in Connecticut, an off-shoot from the same stock, were frequently at variance with their Dutch neighbors, in consequence of the Puritans' wish to extend southwardly and westwardly their somewhat narrow limits. The government of New Amsterdam was no doubt anxious to propitiate these restless sectarians, and it is not too much to infer that the persecutions which they yielded to rather than promoted, had their origin in this motive. Soon after the meetings of Friends began to be held in his house, John Bowne was complained of to the "Council of New Netherland," as appears from the following minute on the records still preserved at Albany.*

(Translation.) "Complaint made 24 August, 1662, by the magistrate of Flushing, that many of the inhabitants are followers of the Quakers, who hold their meetings at the house of John Bowne, and it is forbidden to bring the strolling people called Quakers into the province without obtaining the consent of the Government."

*Note. The original reads thus: "Thursday, August 24th, 1662. To the Noble Honorable Director General and Council of New Netherland. The Magistrates of Rustdorf came here to-day and in form of complaint reported to the Director-General, that the majority of the inhabitants of their village were adherents and followers of the abominable sect, called Quakers, and that a large meeting was held at the house of John Bound, in Vlissingen [Flushing], every Sunday. They requested, that this might be prevented one way or the other. Date as above. By these presents are all Magistrates and Inhabitants of the English Townes, in the Jurisdiction of the New Netherlands, Ordered and Required to assist the Bearer, our Schout Resolved Waldron for to imprisson all such persons which shall be found in a prohibited or unlawfull meeting. Given under our hand this 9th of September Anno 1662." (Col. Docs., N. Y., 14: 515; and Eccl. Records, N. Y., 1: 526).

This proceeding seems to have been quickly followed by the imprisonment of the accused, and the following entry appears on the minutes of the Council under date "Thursday, 14 Sept., 1662." "Because John Bowne, at present prisoner, dwelling at Flushing, upon Long Island, has made no scruple in contempt of the orders of the Director General and Council of the New Netherlands, made and published against the Quakers, not only to lodge and entertain some of that heretick and abominable sect called Quakers, but, moreover, has condescended unto them at several times to hold their conventicles and meetings in his house, where he, not alone, but his whole family, have been present, by which also the said abominable sect [have been encouraged] and ministers of the Word of God do blanie [us as tending] to undermine both the policy and worship of God, but others also are led out of the right way, which, altogether are acts of ill consequence, whereout is likely to redound much evil, heresies and differences, etc., etc., he ought to be corrected as an example to others, etc." Whereupon the Council proceeds to impose a fine of twenty-five pounds Flemish upon the prisoner, "with an express admonition and interdict to abstain from all such forementioned meetings and conventicles" under penalty of twice the above fine for a second offence, and for a third offence, to be banished out of the province of New Netherland.*

John Bowne having refused to pay the fines imposed upon him, was confined in a dungeon on bread and water, day and night, no one being allowed access to him.†

Finding that he continued innoveable, he was removed to another prison and allowed to see his wife and other friends.

*Note 1. A law passed Feb. 1, 1656, is as follows: "The Director-General and Council strictly forbid all such public or private conventicles and meetings, except the usual and authorized ones, where God's Word, according to the Reformed and established custom, is preached and taught in meetings held for the religious service of the Reformed Church conformably to the Synod of Dort, which is to be followed here as in the Fatherland, and in the other Reformed Churches of Europe; under a fine of one hundred pounds Flemish, [\$240], to be paid by all who, in such public or private meetings, except at the usual authorized gatherings on Sundays or other days, presume to exercise, without due qualification, the duties of a preacher, reader, or chorister; and each man or woman, married or unmarried, who is found at such a meeting, shall pay a fine of twenty-five pounds Flemish [\$60]. Thus done February 1, 1656." (Eccles. Records, N. Y., 1: 343). See also Bowden, *Friends in America*, 1: 317; Bishop's New England Judged, 218).

†Note 2. Bowden, *Friends in America*, 1: 322; Bishop's New England Judged, 446; Croese, *History of Friends*, 1696. Part 3; Amer. Hist. Record, 1: 4th 8, 1872.

He was then informed that he was to pay the fine or be sent out of the country, or that he would be set free upon his promise to quit the country in three months. Declining to accede to these terms, he was permitted to visit his friends upon condition that he would return to his prison in three days. On the 31st of 10th Month (December), 1662, he was carried on board a ship bound for Holland.

While John Bowne was confined in jail he received the following letter. Of John Hodgson, the writer of this epistle of Christian sympathy and encouragement, we know but little. His name several times occurs in Besse's "Sufferings of the Quakers," as the subject of persecution in England. The allusion to his brother Robert warrants the supposition that he was the brother of that Robert Hodgson, who, six years before, had well nigh become a martyr to his faithfulness, and of whose sufferings a full and touching account is to be found in Besse:

"For the hands of my dear friend John Bowne, at Prison in Manhattan":—

DEAR FRIEND.—I dearly salute thee, and in that love which changeth not do I embrace thee, and am near thee in the Spirit tho' afar off in the body—Dear Heart, in bowels of love unfeigned I write these few lines unto thee, thou Prisoner of Hope, desiring, entreating and beseeching thee, my dear friend, to eye and mind the Lord in all his outgoings and his comings in, and heed not the wrath that thou mayst see the enemies of our God in—For their time is but short [], and that our God will greatly appear for us; and thou my dearly beloved in the Lord, be valiant and bold in, and for, the Truth—thou, whom our God has chosen and called forth in these parts to suffer for him and his everlasting Truth in the midst of a perverse generation. And this know, my dear Friend, that the eyes of many are upon thee, some for good and some for evil. Therefore, my friend, be staid in thy mind, and freely given up in all things, that thou mayst be of good savour for our God, both in them that are appointed for life and also them that perish. I know that if thou abide faithful, thou shalt not be tempted above measure. The God of love, and our life, keep thee in perfect peace. Amen, saith my soul—so be it.

Thy dear brother in love,

JOHN HODGSON.

P. S.—My soul is refreshed, dear John, in learning of thy faithfulness and boldness in the work of the Lord. He will smite them and the Lord's enemies and wound them to the heart. Robert and myself and child are to go on board in the morning betimes. Friends' love is to thee. Fare thee well.

J. HODGSON.

Written this first day of the week, 1662.

While John Bowne, thus banished from home and kindred, was on his voyage, a dispatch was addressed by the Colonial Council to the Government at home from which an extract follows:

"We omitted in general letter the troubles and difficulties which we and many of our good inhabitants have since sometime met with, and which daily are renewed by the sect called Quakers, chiefly in the country and principally in the English villages, establishing forbidden conventicles and frequenting those against our published placards and disturbing in a manner the public peace. In so far that several of our magistrates and well-affectioned subjects complained to us from time to time of their insufferable obstinacy, unwilling to obey orders or judgment. Among others, one of their principal leaders, John Bowne, who, for his transgressing, was, in conformity to the placards, condemned in an amende of 150 guilders insuivant; who has now been under arrest more than three months for his unwillingness to pay, obstinately persisting in his refusal, in which he still continues, so that we at last resolved, or were rather compelled to transport him in this ship from this province, in the hope that others might by it be discouraged. If, nevertheless, by this means no more salutary impressions are made upon others, we shall, tho' against our inclinations, be compelled to prosecute such persons in a more severe manner, in which we previously solicit to be favoured with your honorus, wise and forseeing judgment.

"Fort Amsterdam in New Netherlands, 9th Jan'y, 1663."*

To this dispatch, which breathes the spirit and is expressed in the wonted language of the Puritan persecutors of New England, "the wise and forseeing judgment" of the Directors of the West India Company, who were the proprietors of the province, vouchsafed the following well-merited rebuke:

"To the Governor and Council of the New Netherlands:

"We finally did see from your last letter that you had exiled and transported hither a certain Quaker named John Bowne, and, although it is our cordial desire that similar and other sectarians might not be found there, yet as the contrary seems to

*Note. Bowden, 1: 324.

be the fact, we doubt very much if vigorous proceedings ought not to be discontinued, except you intend to check and destroy your population, which, however, in the youth of your existence, ought rather to be encouraged by all possible means; wherefore it is our opinion that some connivance would be useful, that the consciences of men, at least, ought ever to remain free and unshackled. Let every one be unmolested as long as he is modest, as long as he does not disturb others or oppose the Governments. This maxim of moderation has always been the guide of the magistrates of this city, and the consequence has been that, from every land, people have flocked to this asylum. Tread thus in their steps, and we doubt not you will be blessed." Abraham Wilmendonk, David Van Baerle. Dated Amsterdam, 16th April, 1663."*

John Bowne arrived in Amsterdam on the 29th of Second month, 1663. It would appear by his letters to his wife that he landed in Ireland, and was then at liberty to go to Amsterdam at his leisure. On his arrival, in company with his friend, that eminent minister of the Gospel, William Caton, he had several interviews with the Directors of the West India Company, and, although probably under some misapprehension of his case, they told him that he might send for his wife and children, but could not be suffered to live in the province unless he would submit to the laws. They afterwards seemed to accede to his requests, and left him at liberty to join his family. From Amsterdam, John Bowne addressed to his wife the following letter, dated Fourth month [June] 9th, 1663.

MOST DEAR AND TENDER WIFE.—In the truth of our God I dearly salute thee, and unto thee doth my love and life flow forth exceedingly. But my dearest desire for thee is, that thou mayst be preserved faithful to the Lord, and may grow and prosper in his living Truth. So my dear Heart, be bold for the Lord and let nothing discourage thee—for he is a sure reward to all those who freely and singly give up all for his Truth's sake, the which I believe thou canst truly witness with me; and this I can truly say in all my trials—I find the Lord to be my sure helper, my rock, and my defence. He has brought

*Note. Col. Records, N. Y., 14: 525, 526; Eccles. Records, N. Y., 1: 530; Bowden, 1: 325.

me to be content with what he is pleased to direct me in. Dear Heart, I writ a letter for thee when I arrived in Ireland * * and when I got into Derbyshire, I writ again * * When I came to London there was a Boston ship, to go in which I was lovingly proffered a passage where several friends were to pass, and glad would I have been to have taken that opportunity, if I had had freedom for it, but it being otherwise, I sent a letter by Elizabeth Hooton, and a box of books by the Master of the ship, which, if they come to hand, it may be best not to dispose of them untill I come (I hope it will not be long first). For it being upon me to pass over to Holland, I hastened away and had a good passage * * I manifested my case to the West India Company by sending in a writing which they read, and accordingly appointed Committees to sit about it. But it being feasting time, and they that are great not minding them that are little, we could not get a hearing for fourteen days, but when we (I, William Caton and an interpreter), came before them, they were very moderate [seeming] not to take any offence at [our hats] or the like—neither one word against me in any particular, nor one word tending to the liking of anything that was done against me, but freely and without any scruple, promised with joint consent, that the next day at the eleventh hour my goods should be delivered to me—orders were given to the keeper of the Guard House to that purpose, but he, with others of the underling officers, consulted together and asked me if I had paid my passage money, and [said] the Company were not willing to spent money upon such an account (although ordered by the Governor), and the [evil one?] taking place in them, they do not only detain my goods, but also deny me a passage home, except upon gross and unreasonable terms (which I could rather lay down my life than yield unto) * * * I have sent thee a trunk full of things—in the crown of the undermost hat thou mayst find a paper wrapped about a little bundle, whercin is information * * * I have also sent thee a young man, who is my servant for six years, as will appear by covenant, a copy of which I think to send thee * * I would have you all be loving to him—but be wise therein and let him not get a head over any of you. He hath been something high, and not used to labour—let him not be lavish in wearing his things. If he should be heady, that thou be burdened with him, then put him to brother Farrington untill I come * * * and now my dear Lamb, my tender greeting to my dear Father, my tender love to all my brothers and sisters and my little children. * * So my dear Lamb, my having been up all this night to write, and now not having more time, I must and do conclude in tender love to thee and my dear children, in which love the Lord God of my life preserve and keep you all. Amen.

Thy dear husband,

JOHN BOWNE.

P. S.—Dear George Fox and many other friends desire their dear love and tender salutation remembered to all Friends.

The Elizabeth Hooton mentioned in the above letter as being about to sail from London to Boston, was a remarkable instance of the perseverance of the early Friends in the discharge of duty. In the year 1659, she had been imprisoned in Boston in company with William Leddia, until he was put to death. She was afterwards taken from jail and carried a day's journey into the forests, and there abandoned to beasts of prey. She, however, was enabled to reach Rhode Island, and at length returned to England. Feeling it her duty to revisit that land overshadowed by the merciless spirit of intolerance, she sailed in the ship alluded to by John Bowne. On her arrival in Boston, although bearing with her the king's license to reside in any of the English provinces, she was kept four days in the stocks, shut up in a dungeon without bread or water, whipped through three towns with a knotted three-corded whip, and then, lacerated as she was, carried on horse-back many miles into an uninhabited wilderness, and there abandoned, to the eminent peril of her life as well from exposure and starvation as from the wild beasts which were numerous in the forest. Although her persecutors, on leaving her, expressed the hope that they would see her no more, she was favored to reach Rhode Island. Returning once more to Boston, she was again lacerated with whip, and again abandoned in the wilderness. She was at this time over sixty years of age—a woman of substance and of high respectability. It would be difficult to find in the annals of bigotry recitals of greater cruelty than those which stain almost every page of the early history of the Puritans of New England.*

Although the Directors of the West India Company had acted with apparent friendliness towards John Bowne, it was manifest that they or their subordinates were disposed to deal with him as a culprit. This conviction drew from him the following manly, but truly Christian letter:

Friends:—

The paper drawn up for me to subscribe, I have perused and weighed, and do find the same not according to that engagement with me, through one of your members namely, that he or you would do therein by me as you would be done unto and not otherwise. For which of you being taken by force from your wife and family (without just cause) would be bound

*Note. See Bishop New England Judged ed. 1703, pp. 403-421; Bowden 1: 255-262.

from returning to them unless upon terms to act contrary to your consciences and deny your faith and religion. Yet this in effect do you require of me, and not less. But truly I cannot think that you did in sober earnest ever think I would subscribe to any such thing. It being the very thing for which I rather choose freely to suffer want of the company of my dear wife and children, imprisonment of my person, the ruin of my estate there, in my absence, and the loss of my goods here, than to yield or consent to such an unreasonable thing as you would thereby enjoin me unto. For which I am persuaded you will not only be judged in the sight of God, but by good and godly men [You appear] rather to have mocked at the oppressions of the oppressed, and added afflictions to the afflicted, than herein to have done to me as you would in the like case be done unto, which the loyal law of our God requires.

I have with patience and moderation waited several weeks, expecting justice from you, but behold an addition to my oppression in the measure I receive. Wherefore, I have this now to request for you, that the Lord will not lay this to your charge, but give eyes to see and hearts to do justice, that you may find mercy with the Lord in the day of Judgment. .

JOHN BOWNE.

In the Fourth month, 1663, he left Amsterdam, and after visiting his sister Truth, who had remained in England, he sailed for Barbadoes, in company with a Friend from Yorkshire, Thomas Hornor, and soon after his arrival in that Island, this Friend deceased on the 23rd of Ninth month, 1663. He was one of a large family of respectable yeomanry who appear to have been among those who were, at an early period, convinced of the principles of truth as held by Friends. They suffered much from fines and imprisonment; and some of them being probably men of substance, freely opened their houses for the meetings of the infant Society, and were thus made to suffer heavy penalties. Of Thomas Hornor himself, little is known, but the letter of his kinsman, which is inserted below, indicates the earnest, loving, faithful sufferer for the truth of whom this family furnished many examples in those times.

John Bowne reached his home, by the way of Maryland, on the 30th of First month, 1664, having been absent fifteen months. We may imagine the joy of that meeting to hearts so tender and so true as John and Hannah Bowne's.*

*Note. "Sometime after his return, the Governor meeting him in the street, seemed ashamed of what he had done and told him, 'He was glad to see him safe home again,' and that, 'He hoped he should never do any more to any of his friends.'" Besse, 2: 237, ed. 1753.

The family name of the writer of the following letter addressed to John Bowne is illegible as well as the date. The latter is determined by the contents to have been about the time to which we have now come. The allusions in the letter to Thomas Hornor, and the date from his "Prison House in Wakefield" sufficiently designate the writer as Bartholomew Hornor, who is mentioned by Besse as having twice been committed to jail in that place. His first offence was advising a justice of the peace, who was in a violent rage, to be sober; his second imprisonment was in 1660 [for refusing to take an oath], and although its duration is not mentioned, so common was it to detain Friends for years under confinement that there is no difficulty in concluding that it continued at the date of this letter. In 1670, he was fined £55, a sum equal in our times to near \$700, for a meeting in his house.

DEAR FRIEND, JOHN BOWNE.—My dear love in the Lord is to thee and to our dear friends with you, and in feeling of the same, and daily enjoyment thereof is my soul and spirit joined and united with the covenant of life and peace. Dear John, I did receive a letter which came from thee concerning my cousin Thomas, who was my true and faithful friend, with whom my soul had true fellowship and a deep union. The things which we heard of did go very near, as that such a dear man should be taken from us, yet we could but hear and rest in the Lord's content. I desire, dear John, to hear what thou laid out about my cousin Thomas, and what monies thou wants, for there is most of his possessions here with us, and I desire thee to give me a short account, for I believe there is [enough] to pay. So I desire thee again to let me know, for the rest falls to his brethren and, when I hear from thee, they may have it. And, dear John, thy care and thy love was very much enlarged to my dear and tender cousin; in the which I and all his relations were glad that he was with thee; and what we heard from thee of him was a deep comfort to us. Dear John, as touching things of the present, in the county of Yorkshire, there is not much ado. The Lord keeps them down. In York Castle I do not know that there are ten in prison upon the act lately made. At the House of Correction in Wakefield and in Leeds, there are now 26 prisoners (I am one and was sent from Leeds) and not any more. The Lord keeps them much down in the county, and Friends are very noble, and truly have a good report, and righteousness is more and more esteemed amongst most people. Blessed be the name of the Lord forever! In the south they are very bad, and deal harshly with Friends—yet they are

*Note. Besse 2: 97, 102, 135.

[faithful] and very bold for the name of our God. I rest from writing, yet my dear love remains with thee. Salute thee dearly to Friends where dear cousin Thomas deceased; and to the rest of the faithful followers of our God; and the Lord keep them all faithful forever.

Thy dear brother and companion in the Lord,

BARTHOLEMEW [HORNER].

Written at my prison-house in Wakefield, 6 miles of Leeds in Yorkshire, 1st day of 9 mo. [1664]. Dear George Fox, lately here, is well, he is in prison at Lancaster, and Margaret Fell.

It appears from his journal that George Fox passed through Yorkshire in the latter part of 1663, and, going to Lancastershire, he heard at Swarthmoor of a warrant having been issued against him upon which Margaret Fell accompanied him to the justice. He was committed to Lancaster jail and subsequently Margaret Fell was also there imprisoned for refusing the oath of allegiance. They were tried at the March assizes, 1664, and Geo. Fox remained the whole of that and the following year in confinements.

The atrocious act of 1664 against conventicles, which subjected those refusing to attend the Episcopal worship and attended their own religious meetings, to fines, banishments, slavery, and finally to death, was no doubt "the late act" referred to in this letter. Among the letters which the return of John Bowne to his home elicited, there was one from Joan Brocksupp. She arrived in the colony of Virginia in the year 1661 in company with Elizabeth Hooton, and after encountering many hardships, reached Boston, where she was soon shut up in prison, and was then, with her companion, driven into the wild forests and left to wander without food until they reached Rhode Island, which, under the government of Roger Williams, was then a refuge for those who fled from the intolerance and cruelty of the Puritans. Under a sense of religious duty, she returned to Boston from Barbadoes, was soon arrested and shipped off to Virginia. It would appear that she had received kindness from John Bowne and others, which is acknowledged in her letter and that of her husband which follow:

DEAR JOHN BOWNE.—My dear love in the Lord Jesus Christ doth dearly salute thee, and often doth my love stream forth unto thee and thy dear wife with the rest of thy family, and all dear friends about thee * *

For I can truly say they are all as dear and near unto me as my own life, whose minds are kept steady upon the living Rock which is Christ in them, the hope of glory. So, dear John, the Lord God of my life keep thee in the sweet, savoury life of innocency, in thy own particular that so thou may come to try all things both outwardly and inwardly. Dear John, I received one letter from [], and one from Barbadoes, wherein thou desireth me to give account to Friends in Yorkshire concerning dear Thomas Hornor. I did so, but never heard anything from them again. * * But dear Heart, I was at Matlock, at a meeting at ancient [] House. I was at Anthony Woodward's house. He is convinced of the truth of God, and comes sometimes to our meeting with his wife, and there are some breathings after God thereaway. I saw thy sister but a day since, and she was in good health—her love was to thee. I was with dear George Fox and dear William [], their dear love was to all Friends.

Friends here are generally very well and a growth in the church is witnessed. Glory and honour, and praises be unto the Highest forever and ever! Amen. So my dear friend, whom my soul dearly loves, in the unchangeable love of the Father of life, do I bid thee farewell. And my prayers are unto our God for thee, and all the upright in heart, that you may all be kept low in God's fear, that ye may all come to reign and have the victory. So rest thy friend in the everlasting Truth.

JOANE BROCKSUPP.

Little Normanton, the 8th day of 5 mo. [July] 1664.

DEAR JOHN BOWNE.—My dear and tender love is unto thee, and I do dearly salute thee and thy dear wife; and to all dear friends with thee, and in the Island and county round about thee is my love reached forth unto them all,—that in the pure and tender love of my Heavenly Father you may all be kept, in that which is everlasting and changeth not. And dear John Bowne, as the Lord gives thee opportunity, my dear love to Nathaniel Sylvester of Shelter Island, whose tender love and fatherly care of my wife when she was with him, the Lord God of my life render into his bosom an hundred fold. So dear John, my dear love is to thee and thy children. Farewell.

THOMAS BROCKSUPP.

In the year 1671, George Fox sailed from London for the West India Islands and the English settlements in America, in company with twelve other friends, among whom was the indefatigable Elizabeth Hooton, who eight years before had encountered the merciless persecutions of the New England Puritans. She was not, however, again to suffer, being, while at Jamaica, permitted to enter that state of being "Where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest." "She was



THE FLUSHING OAKS AND BOWNE HOUSE

well," says George Fox, "the day before she died, and departed in peace, like a lamb, bearing testimony to the truth at her departure."*

George Fox reached Maryland in the early part of 1672, and through many difficulties and great exposure, made his way to New England. His narrative of this journey is curious and full of interest. He visited Long Island, both going and returning. It was probably on his last visit that the meeting under the Great Oaks at Flushing was held, and it is no doubt to this he refers in his journal, "From Oyster Bay we passed about thirty miles to Flushing, where we had a very large meeting, many hundreds of people being there, some of whom came about thirty miles to it. A glorious and heavenly meeting it was (Praise be the Lord God!), and the people were much satisfied." On this visit he stayed, no doubt, at the house of his old friend, John Bowne, who appears to have met him in England. Returning to the South, he labored most assiduously in Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, enduring hardships which would have appalled a less earnest servant of his Divine Master, and from which it is not improbable that his constitution seriously suffered. It would appear from parts of his narrative, as indeed is known from the accounts of other Friends, that some declension from the truth had taken place, especially in Virginia, owing partly to the introduction among them of the opinions of John Perrot, tending to the promotion of a Pharisaical spirit which seems ever to have been the form in which spiritual declension has most manifested itself amongst professing Quakers. It was while out upon this exposing and hazardous journey that George Fox wrote the following letter to his friend, John Bowne. By his Journal it appears that the evening before its date, he landed from an open boat, having encountered a great storm, while crossing an arm of the sea, in which they became thoroughly wet, and "building a fire in the woods, lay there all night, the wolves howling about" them. The original letter has been unhappily mutilated; all that can now be read is what follows, brief, but eminently characteristic and apostolic. Geo. Fox to John Bowne:

*Note. Journal Bi-Cent. ed. 2: 160.

"[] in the love of God together, by and in which you are edified and built up. Our travels have been great by land and water through Maryland and Virginia and Carolina; that had we not returned as we did we might have been frozen up. But we have returned back to Maryland. The work of the Lord is great and his Truth spreadeth greatly—praised be God! In Carolina we met with [who have not?] kept the Truth, and several others, but I hope they will mend—and a good service we had there. Remember my dear love to Friends in Oyster Bay and Gravesend, and all the rest, as though I named them—and for all of them to dwell in the word of God together as Heirs of Grace and Life. And so the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, be in and with you all. Maryland, 11 mo: 1st, 1672. Amen.

G. F."

Hannah Bowne, the wife of John Bowne, became a minister in the Society of Friends. In the early part of the year 1675, she left home to pay a religious visit to Friends in Great Britain. John Bowne records that on the 22d of Third month, of that year, he "went with his dearly beloved wife on board Andrew Bowne's ship at Staten Island, bound for London, where he parted with her on the 24th."

In the following letter from John Bowne to his wife, there are allusions which would seem to apply to a class of persons whom George Fox speaks of, and whom he appears to have severely rebuked for their folly and contentious spirit: "Here (at Oyster Bay) we met with some bad spirits, who had run out from truth into prejudice, contention, and opposition to the order of truth, and to Friends therein. These had been very troublesome to Friends in their meetings, there and thereabouts formerly, and it is like, would have been so now; but I would not suffer the service of our men's and women's meetings to be formerly, and likely would have been so now; but I would not suffer the service of our men's and women's meetings to be interrupted and hindered by their cavils." (Journal, 1672, Bi-Cent. ed. 2: 167.) In another respect the letter is interesting, as showing the affectionate regard in which Hannah Bowne was held by her neighbors:

Oyster Bay, 18th of 3 mo: [May] 1676.

MY DEAR WIFE.—In that unfeigned love, that in God's truth lives in my heart do I salute thee, thou innocent Lamb, wherein I have full satisfaction that we have a sensible feeling of each other's faithfulness to God, and resignedness to His will, for which I desire forever to bless

the Lord, and am ever made to praise His name in the assemblies of his saints. By this thou may understand that I am every way well. Blessed be the Lord! My father and children, I hope are all well, and family in pretty good order. * * Dear Heart, to particularize all that desire to be remembered to thee would be exceeding large, but this I may say, for all Friends in general, relations, neighbours and people, the like largeness of love for one particular person I have seldom found amongst them as is for thee. * * * Mathew [?] Prior came home just to this meeting, with tidings of thy being gone, for which the Lord had fitted me, as thou hast known in like cases formerly. Blessed be His name! Thy letter has not yet come to me, but I hope will speedily. * * * Dear Henry Greene is here, who never saw the like in his life as yesterday. (* * *)—whose unmannerly actions did much discover themselves to the people, as thou hast largely seen before, and art able to give an account to Friends. Robert Stowe and his are here with many more friends for whom I am much concerned, in what service I can. I received a letter from dear John Burnyeat, to whom I hope to write shortly; but this is in great haste in hopes to reach a ship at South Hold bound for London. So dear Heart salute me dearly to dear George Fox J. E. and all good friends who know me as if named. So in that which is beyond words, my dear Lamb, I bid thee farewell.

Superscribed, "To be left with John Elson at the Sign of the Peel, St. John St. For my dear wife Hannah Bowne, London, Old England, These."

John Elson seems to have been a noted Friend in his day. George Fox says, in leaving London, in 1674, he had a glorious meeting with some Friends "at John Elson's":

JOHN BOWNE TO HANNAH BOWNE.

Flushing, 23rd 5 mo: 1676.

DEAR HEART, MY WELL BELOVED WIFE.—In the fresh springs of life doth my unfeigned love abundantly flow to thee, and in the blessed Truth do I dearly salute thee, and in Spirit embrace thee. When we are inseparably united as in God's counsel, we abide. The which, above all things is the desire of my Soul, and not for us only, but for all the upright-hearted in every place, who set a holy resolution to follow the leadings of the blessed spirit of Truth, which leads into all Truth, and in the meekness and humility to abide, where safety is. So shall we be of good Savour unto the Lord, and unto all men, and shall adorn the Truth which we profess—which, being continued unto the end will have a better reward than an earthly crown. Oh my dear, the breathing of my heart is, day and night, unto the Lord, for thy preservation, and through and over all trials thou mayst meet with—all of which I have no cause to doubt, because I know thy heart is upright to the Lord, and he is faithful and true in all his promises. So that I can joyfully rest content in the will of God, to whom

be faithful obedience rendered, and living praises returned forever more. Amen! My dearly beloved, I spake a word or two to thee, before our parting, that thou mightest give me as clear an account as thou make free to do, by writing, of what might be in thy view, as to thy travel on thy return. From the first, not knowing how it might be as touching myself, as concerning coming over after thee. The which, at times, as I was in my work, it was daily presented in my mind, until I could not longer delay to speak to Francis, and my dear daughter Betsy, concerning their taking the charge of all my business and family; the which they were both very free unto. After to my aged Father, to know his willingness—which was more than I could expect. So that it now rests on my mind, more and more to hasten the dispatch of all my Summer concerns, and to Settle all accounts, and to put all things in the best order I can, to be ready for the next good opportunity which may present. So if no tidings of thy Sudden return, or some other things which I expect not, do not prevent, but the Lord make way for it, then I hope in the 10th month, if not before, to be in London, where I shall be glad to meet with thee, if the Lord so order it, and from thence to have thy company into my own country,* after which I know not but I may be free to accompany thee, if the Lord see it good, till we come to our dear children again—whose dear love is to thee, and they are all well, and pretty willing to part with me for thy sake, that I may accompany thee. Now my dear, I would not have thee be troubled for the children, for if I leave them, I doubt not it will be well * * * * * William Edmundson and J. Fletcher have gone from Rhode Island, Eastward, but I expect them here about the 6th mo. meeting. Many friends have been taken away by Sickness in Maryland. As to the war, [King Philip's War, 1675-76 (?)] we have no noise of it of late. We have been very quiet on that account since thou went, and hope it may continue So. The Lord is pleased to bless these parts with a plentiful harvest * * * * *. My dearly beloved thou art more to me than [ought beside?], therefore I committ thee to the Alone Protector; To Him who is alone able to preserve through whatever he may Suffer us to be exercised with, and so with dear love once more to thee I take my leave and rest thy true and faithful Husband.

JOHN BOWNE.

P. S.—Now dear heart I must acquaint thee, to thy grief as has been to mine, that my sister did take a husband yesterday. It is the man that went and came with L. Morris† and us to the new countries—of this should opportunity offer to inform thee more, I shall. She desires her love may be remembered to thee. I enclose a letter from our dear daughter Betsey to thee: for whom I have cause to rejoice that the Lord hath made her so content to undergo the charge; and also so good an example to those of Younger years. So, my dear, in that love that never changeth, I bid thee farewell.

*Note. His native place, Derbyshire, is no doubt meant. [C. Y.]

†Note. For Lewis Morris see page 79.

Elizabeth, the daughter of John and Hannah Bowne, was born in 1658. At the date at which the following letter was written, she was eighteen years old. At that early age she was left in charge of her parents' household, including an octogenarian grandfather and five younger children. The letter shows a maturity of mind and a depth of religious experience which might well warrant her father's trust in her care. That beloved mother, for whom her young heart yearned so tenderly, and with whom she fondly trusted that a reunion would be vouchsafed, she was never more to see until they met in those blessed regions

"Where love is an unerring light,
And joy its own security!"

This letter affords almost the only glimpse of one whom it presents to us in so attractive light. We would fain penetrate the gloom to learn more of her, so young, so loving, and so trusted. We are only told that she married, and that, alas! too soon, she died.

DEAR HEART, MY DEARLY BELOVED MOTHER—Oh! how doth my heart flow unto thee, for indeed thou art very dear unto me, although we are far separated as outwardly, Yet we are near one unto another in that which neither Sea nor land can separate, and I believe, as we in this unchangeable truth abide, we shall be kept near and dear unto one another, and the Lord in his own time will bring us together again with joy, and dear Heart, I believe the Lord will carry us through all that he calls us unto to the honour of his blessed name. Although I am but one among the least of the people of the land, he will not forsake them that put their trust in Him, for his care is over them and he will cover their heads in the day of trouble. Oh! that we may forever abide in the fear of the Lord! where Safety is known, and dear mother as touching our Souls desire, we may and hope we shall order all things so that truth may not be dishonoured by us. And I desire thee to remember my best love to dear George Fox and J. Burnyeate. So with my dear love to thee I rest thy loving daughter.

This 18th 6 mo: 1676.

ELIZABETH BOWNE.

During the absence of John and Hannah Bowne, their aged father, Thomas Bowne, died at the age of 82 years. He is supposed to have joined the Society of Friends, his death being entered upon their records.

John Bowne left home in pursuance of the intention com-

municated to his wife to meet her in London, where he arrived Eleventh month 13, 1676. He travelled with her for some months, when he was called upon to encounter a severe trial of his faith in her removal by death, which occurred in the Eleventh month, 1677, at the house of John Elson, in London.

It appears that she had twice crossed the Atlantic in the work of the ministry, and had also travelled extensively on this continent. She was interred on the 2d of Twelfth month, 1677, on which occasion there was a large meeting of Friends at the house of John Elson. "We had," says her husband, "a precious meeting before her body was carried forth, and I am a living witness, with many more, that the living power of God with us, accompanied her body to the ground." And now (he continues), it is the breathing of my soul to the Lord that the residue of my time here, I may live her life, and not only perform the faithful and true care of a loving father, but also keep the diligent watch of a tender mother unto and over our dear children. And so, in true tenderness and brotherly love, I dearly salute all faithful friends to whom this may come, and bid you all farewell. Your friend and brother in the Truth,

JOHN BOWNE."

At the meeting above referred to on the occasion of the funeral of Hannah Bowne, her husband delivered the following discourse, "as in the simplicity of truth it arose," and appears subsequently to have disseminated it as a testimony to his deceased wife.

"My dear Friends, for so I can truly call you:—The desire of my heart is that every mind may sink down inwardly, that so you may feel, ye may taste and truly savour that which springs from the Lord's begetting. For I can in truth say it livingly springs in my heart this day; although I may in some sense truly declare, that my naturals have been even as dissolved in this weighty exercise, in this deep and very near trial, wherewith my heavenly Father's pleasure hath been to prove me, who now hath seen good to gather to himself into everlasting rest, that which He alone hath prepared and fitted for Himself out of that earthly tabernacle which now I must leave behind, as once the thing sprang in her that she must stay behind her husband.

Now must I leave this earthly tabernacle to be laid amongst many of the Lord's worthies; yea, amongst his valiants and amongst His tender babes, many of whom we have been truly refreshed with for these many years. And I know not any place from my outward being could have been such a satisfaction to me as with you at this time; and I find myself, having this opportunity, weightily concerned to testify a little of the abundance that is in my heart concerning my dear and tenderly beloved, to whose charge I have not anything to lay since I first enjoyed her company, to declare a little to you, my friends, to ease my heart in this matter. When I first heard of her, before I saw her face, a true love was begotten in my heart towards her, because of the love of God that lived in her; and that from her childhood she sought after heavenly things; whose face, when I did behold it, I may say it was outwardly beautiful and amiable, and so it hath continued unto me, and to all that truly knew her. She was very zealous for the Lord in what she knew in that day, and from the first closing with the thing I declared unto her, she hath been truly faithful unto me until her last minute. As I have often heard her say, the resolution of her heart and the bent of her spirit was altogether to be subject unto me in all things, which for conscience's sake, she could do. But after the Lord's messengers came amongst us and declared the eternal Truth, she readily joined with it and durst not derogate from it. She was a true and tender mother to her children (seven I hope are yet remaining of them). Her care over them was such that she would never consent to part with any one of them out of her family, except I could describe a place better for them, for their eternal well-being. But when the Lord laid it upon her then she was truly willing to leave both her native country, her husband and children, and all her dear relations, and after some other difficult travels, she was concerned to see Friends in the nation of England, which, being accomplished in an acceptable time, she returned to my own dwelling, where joyfully she was received of all that truly knew her. But in a little time she declared unto me that when she was upon the seas, it was in her view that she must say, 'Husband, I have come to see thee, but I must not tarry,' which came to pass in some months' time,

that except she returned to England again, she could not enjoy peace with the Lord, at the knowledge of which I could freely have given all to have accompanied her, but not daring to stir without the leading of the Lord, I was made freely willing to part with her and remain at home with my little ones. But after some time, the thing sprang in my heart to make preparation to come to England; and it was made truly easy to me that if the Lord required her travelling in these countries, that I should take the care of her and accompany her, if it were to the disbursing of half my outward estate. But when I came here, I understood she was in Ireland, which place I expected I might find her in, which being accomplished, it lay upon her spirit to visit Friends throughout all that nation; wherein I did accompany her willingly to a thousand miles' travel, and afterwards came over to England, to parts of many counties in this nation, hoping, when I came to London, the Lord would make her way homeward. But a necessity was laid upon her of further travel in these countries, but it was much with me to press her so far as I durst to haste away to her children; and when I durst proceed no farther, I gave up to accompany her wheresoever the Lord might order her, which hath been through Holland, Friesland, and as far as the city of Embden, in the Low Countries, which was the furthest place that stood in her view ere she went over, through all of which I have a testimony in my heart, she was made serviceable for the Lord, and particularly at that city of Embden, having cleared her conscience to those that were convinced, and they, from that, established their meeting twice a week, which had long been discontinued—Through all which countries she was enabled to clear her conscience to them in their own language, in which she had been little exercised ever since I had the knowledge of her. After which being accomplished, 'Now,' said she, 'if there were a ship at London, am I ready to return home.' 'Nay, my dear,' said I, 'if there were a ship I should not carry thee at this season of the year.' 'Oh! said she, 'I would scruple no season, if it were the Lord's time.'

"Now, my dear friends, as the Lord hath enabled me, have I, in short, given you this account for your satisfaction con-

cerning her, though I am well persuaded it need not be spoken to many of you. And thus can I, in truth, say as I said at first, I have nothing to lay to her charge since I first knew her. And I am satisfied, in my own heart, that her garments are clean, and were clean and without spot. A tender mother to her children, and faithful wife to her husband—and, that which passeth all, truly resigned up, to serve the Lord to the utmost of her power, having truly denied all, parted with all, forsaken all, to answer the Lord's requiring. And now, to add a little for the sake of those that are convinced of the truth to whom this may come. She was always diligent in what she undertook; ever shy of coming into debts, and always careful to answer engagements and perform to everyone the thing that was equal on all accounts; ever willing to make use of things above her ability, but constantly minding that which was decent, comely and of good report amongst sober people; and when concerned in her family to exhort, reprove or correct, it was done in tenderness, wisdom and godly fear to the reaching God's witness, and causing the stubborn nature to bow. She could always freely make use of what the Lord did afford her, for the service of Truth and the friends thereof, never questioning but the Lord would take the care of her, and provide when she was concerned to leave all her outward acquaintances and travel upon Truth's account in divers countries where she was a stranger; always believing that the Lord would take away all scruples—remove all doubts—concerning her that might arise in any of his faithful people. And in all the time of the weakness of her body, there was not the least appearance of any trouble upon her mind, and some of her last words to me were, if the Lord should take her away, to remember her dear love to all Friends that are faithful, and to her dear children; and not long after she passed away without a sigh or groan. Willing submission, faithful obedience and loving praises be unto God forever, saith my soul. Amen."

And here the veil of well nigh two centuries interposed between the firm, devoted, generous, loving John Bowne and ourselves. . . . We only know that after the death of the remarkable woman whom he so faithfully and so tenderly portrayed in his funeral discourse, he lived about two years a widower and was

then married, in 1679, to Hannah Bickerstaffe; that in the year 1690 she too departed, and that after three years he was united to Mary Cock. Two years after this last marriage there is found on the minutes of Flushing Monthly Meeting the solemn record:

"John Bowne died the 20th day of the Tenth month [December], in the year 1695, and was buried the 23rd of the same, being about 68 years of age. He did freely expose his life and estate to the services of truth, and had had a constant meeting in his house near about forty years. He also suffered much for truth's sake."

And so the good man passed away.

"Life's labors done, serenely to his final rest he passed,
While the soft memory of his virtues yet
Lingers, like twilight when the bright sun is set."

One of the six daughters of John Bowne, who gladdened that home over which the devoted wife, whose price was above rubies, presided, has passed before us like a gleam of sunshine, too soon to disappear forever.

It would be unjust to another to withhold the following fragment doubly worthy of preservation, as the only trace that is left of the writer, and for the singular combination of maidenly feeling, Christian discretion and filial piety which distinguishes it. The writer was the fourth daughter of her parents.

HANNAH BOWNE, JR., TO HER PARENTS.

[Without date.]

And dear Father and Mother I may also acquaint You that one Benjamin Field, the youngest son of my friend Susanna Field, has tendered his love to me—the question he has indeed proposed—as concerning marriage—the which—as yet—I have not—at present rejected—nor given much way to—nor do I intend to proceed nor let out my affection too much towards him—'till I have well considered the thing, and have yours and friends advice and consent—concerning it.

The result was such as might have been anticipated. The record states that Hannah Bowne was married to Benjamin Field.

When reflecting upon the characters of the simple-hearted and truly excellent persons who have passed before us, we are not to forget that the pictures which are presented to us are

not portraits. We see only their virtues, for the maxim that "of the dead no evil shall be spoken," commends itself too strongly to generous hearts to permit their failings to be unveiled. Yet it is not to be doubted that failings there were. Whensoever we find these venerable persons devoted above all things to the will of their heavenly Father; when it is evident that the promotion of revealed truth was the paramount object of their lives, and that truth included the loftiest code of morals, the utmost purity of life, and the deepest and most enduring love to their fellowmen; that no sacrifice was too dear, nor suffering too severe, provided that the truth was thus to be upheld; and when we consider that their faith included the sensible communication with the Author of their lives, who was to them, with a peculiar emphasis, a God of love, and that to love Him was their chief enjoyment, as it was their highest duty, it cannot be doubted that whatever momentary clouds of human frailty might pass over them, holiness, purity and depth of mutual love, and adoring acquiescence (resignation is an inadequate expression) in the Divine Will, were the habits of their mind. And if so, who more truly illustrated and "adorned the doctrine of God our Saviour," or are more truly to be numbered with those who

"Grow familiar, day by day,
With His conceptions—act upon His plan,
And form to His, the relish of their souls"?

Note. Illustrations.—Reuben Haines, of Germantown, Philadelphia, kindly furnished the photograph of the "Old Bowne House" in 1906, from which the Frontispiece is reproduced.

"The Flushing Oaks" (p. 57) is from a lithograph of a drawing of T. K. Wharton made probably between 1840 and 1850. For this plate THE BULLETIN is indebted to David S. Taber, of New York. The house on the right is the "Bowne House;" that in the center was built by Samuel Parsons, Senior. There were once three oaks; all have now gone—(Editor.)

INTER-YEARLY MEETING CORRESPONDENCE IN THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

One of the most interesting sessions at the Five Years' Meeting of 1907, held at Richmond, Indiana, was that in which the subject of Inter-Yearly Meeting Correspondence was under consideration. The conclusion reached was that, "Epistles be made brief, and covering matters of present vital interest within the Yearly Meeting sending them; and that the mode of presentation be left entirely to the judgment of the Yearly Meeting receiving them." (Minutes Five Years' Meeting, 1907, p. 99.) In connection with this subject the two following epistles of the eighteenth century will be of interest. It will be seen that the Epistle from Virginia Yearly Meeting very closely follows the lines laid down in 1907. It is brief; it covers matters of vital interest to the Virginia Friends at the time of writing, and there is very little "preaching," one of the points objected to in the discussion. (Minutes and Proceedings, Five Years' Meeting, 1907, pp. 286, 347 ff.) The Epistle from Philadelphia in answer, it must be confessed, does not fulfill the conditions as well. It is one-fourth longer; it tells little or nothing of vital interest in Philadelphia at the time of writing, and there is a good deal of "preaching." Compared with average recent epistles, both of these old ones are brief—that from Philadelphia being only about half as long as some of the American Epistles of 1907, while that from Virginia is almost exactly the length of the shortest American Epistle of 1907.

The Virginia Epistle is printed from the original, and the Philadelphia Epistle from what appears to be the original draft, but unsigned by the clerk. Both these documents are in the Library of Haverford College. The dates are Old Style.

From our Yearly Meeting held in Henrico County, Virginia, ye 16, 17 & 18th, of the 7th month, 1748.

To Friends at their next Yearly Meeting to be held for Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

Dear Friends

In that Love that first gather'd us to be a people we salute you, and let you know the affairs of this our Annual Meeting has been carried on in a good Degree to mutual Satisfaction and by Accounts received from the Several Quarterly meetings Love and Unity seems to abound in most Parts of this Collony and our Disciplin Preserved.

And as Heretofore, so now there is great Openness amongst the People to hear the Gospel Preached, Divers being convinced since our last, and it seems to us that if the Faithful among us continue to shew forth the work of the Spirit of Christ (by Humbly Walking in the Dictates thereof) the Borders of Sion will be Enlarged, in this Wilderness Land. Friends also keep steady to their Testimony's against Priests Wages so Call'd, and Bearing armes to the great Impoverishment of some Poor Friends, by the Vigorous Siesures of the Officers on their goods to Double or Treble the Vallue, but in other Places they are very moderate Endeavouring only to take sufficient to Pay the Demand, which is Cause to believe that as we Continue Patiently to Suffer in due time will Terminate to the Praise & Glory of God as well as comfort of his People.

Your Epistle for the year 1747 Came not to hand which we Excuse believing it miscarried and not your neglect. We shall be glad to Continue our Corrispondance with You, and in that love which unites the Hearts of the Faithfull we Sallute You and remain Your Friends & Brethren.

Sign'd by order of our said meeting by

JOHN PLEASANTS

Cl.

From our Yearly meeting held in Philada^a: for Pensylvania and New Jersey from 16th to the 20th 7 mo: 1749 Inclusive.

To Friends at their next Yearly Meeting in Virginia.

Dear Friends

In the Love of our Heavenly Father we Salute you, the overshadowing of which hath been Experienced in this Our Yearly Meeting to the refreshment and Comfort of the faithful.

For the Continuance of which high favour we bless the Great author thereof.

By accounts received from our Several Quarterly Meetings it Appears that Love and Unity Subsists amongst us, our meetings kept up and our Discipline in a good degree kept to—

Your Epistle of 1748 was read in our Meeting to Satisfaction. We know not the reason why our Epistle of —47 Came not to Your hands. The necessary Care was taken by us in order to Continue that friendly Correspondance which we have heretofore had (we trust) to our mutual Satisfaction, and hope the same may long remain.

It is with gladness we hear that friends of your province remain Steadfast in our Religious principles In times of Suffering believing that whensoever the Lord in his wisdom Calleth his people thereunto, if there be a faithfull Continuance therein, There will be the same ocasion to Say as they antiently did. Those light Afflictions which are but for a moment worketh for us a far more Exceeding and Eternal weight of Glory.

And That there Continues an openness in the hearts of the people to hear the Gospel preached is Comfortable intilligence, being assured that wheresoever the Gospel is recieved in the Love of it, and it hath its Effect upon the mind, it is found indeed to be Glad tideings of Great Joy.

If we as a people who through divine favour have had Experience of it, and have found that precious pearl which removes the Cause of Discord and brings peace on Earth and good will amongst men are found faithfull therein, and by our prudent Conversation and Equitable Conduct manifest the same, we trust the Effects thereof will be precious, and hope with you that the borders of Zion may yet be enlarged.

That the wisdom from above (which is pure, peacible & Gentle) may possess both you and us, and yt by applying our hearts thereto we may be Directed and preserved through the deficulties and Successive perrils in this life Blameless unto the end, are the fervent desires of Your friends and Brethren.

Signed by order & on behalf of our meeting.

[JOHN KINSEY *Clerk.*]

LETTER OF GEORGE WHITEHEAD TO THOMAS LLOYD AND ARTHUR COOK, 1690.

George Whitehead, the author of the following letter, was one of the most prominent of the early Friends. He was born at Sun-bigg, in Westmorland, about 1636. His parents were Presbyterians in good circumstances, and gave their son a good education in "Grammar Learning." He was of a serious disposition, and when only about fourteen, became much dissatisfied with the religious teachings he received. Hearing of the Quakers, he attended one of their meetings at Sedberg, Yorkshire, and became convinced that his place was with that "small, despised people." He began to preach when hardly eighteen, and from that time for about seventy years was active in the ministry. He soon met with George Fox and joined with him heart and soul. He was one of that band of sixty ministers, almost all young men, who went out of the North, carrying their Gospel message over a good part of England.

He was not only a preacher, but a great doctrinal and controversial writer as well. The list of his works in Smith's catalogue of Friends' books occupies twenty-four pages.

All through his life, and particularly during his maturer years, he was one of the pillars of Quakerism. He bore his full share of suffering for conscience's sake. He influenced greatly the doctrinal statements of the Society, and was a leader in all its work, and after the death of George Fox he was recognized as the foremost Friend in the body. He was a great spokesman for Friends, and again and again, was the one to plead personally before the English monarchs and those in authority. In this capacity he appeared before Charles II; James II; and in 1697, and 1699, before William III. He was one of the deputation of Friends that presented an address of loyalty and affection to Queen Anne on her accession (1702), and he headed a deputation to greet George I on his accession (1714); finally,

in 1716, when over 80, he presented to the king another congratulatory address with a short speech. "He departed this life in great peace and quiet the eighth day of the First month [March], 1722-23, about the eighty-seventh year of his age."

Arthur Cook, to whom, without question, in conjunction with Thomas Lloyd, the letter is addressed, was a Friend, and prominent in the early history of Pennsylvania. He was several times appointed judge (first in 1685); was also a special commissioner in 1685, with four others, "to hear and determine all heinous and enormous crimes that shall be brought before them in the county of Bucks, at a special court"; in 1690 he was a "Provincial Judge"; and was, in 1686, appointed Councillor and Lieutenant Governor for three years. He was Assistant to the Governor in 1696. Governor Markham, in the same year, charged him with concealing important papers from him, but one would wish to hear Arthur Cook's side of the question before giving judgment. He died before 1700 (Col. Rec. Penna. 1:153, 164, 212, 324, 505, 607; Penna. Archives 4th Ser. 1:85.)

The letter is written in George Whitehead's fine, clear handwriting, and fills one side of a folio sheet. So far as known, it has not been published before, and is printed from the original, which is in the possession of the editor.

GEORGE WHITEHEAD TO THOMAS LLOYD AND ARTHUR COOK.

Dr. ffrriends T[homas] LL.[oyd] and A.[rthur] C.[ook].

One thing I have late Intimation of abot. some differences among you for Some of You (concerning Your outward Governmt. and Dividing it. And abot. Choosing Deputies or psons to Act in Governmt. & 3 Counties Ruling by y^m.selves &c) I doo not well Understand Your Methods but if you let up Division among Yourselves abot. those matters also, it will greatly cause Truth to Suffer and bring You under a Contempt and will look iil here, and as if y^e Lord in Displeasure did withhold Counsell from You. We are troubled to hear of any Such Divisions among You tending to make a Noise and a Dust and to bow Truth's name & ffrids under Suffering and reproach (if things be As represented) It is ffearred to Endanger W. P.[enn] and his As to the loss of y^e whole or at least the 3 Lower Countyes and

bring Your Selves Under the lash here (as I am tould) These things in true love I acquaint you with yt. you may make the best Use thereof. And have a Care of making Such Alterations in your Governmt. as may be Unsafe to the whole. We hope the L^d. will free W. P. out of his troubles and Exercises In his own time though he has bin long frustrated of his Intentions of coming over to You. Yor. deare Friend. G W.

London. ye 30th 7^{mo} 1691.

Addressed:

For
His Loving Friend
Thomas LLOYD
President—
in Pennsylvania
in
America—
These

QUAKER PRINTERS AND BOOKSELLERS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, 1652-1667.

There has been lately published by the Bibliographical Society of London, "A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667." This work was compiled by Henry R. Plomer, and issued in 1907. It contains 199 pp, small 4to., and is full of out-of-the-way information.

The seventeenth century was, in England, emphatically an age of controversy; and opponents, at the slightest provocation, rushed into print with broadsides, pamphlets, quartos and even folios. There were few newspapers and no reviews, so this was the best way to reach those who could not be met personally, and also to bring one's views before the public. The amount of

Quaker literature published in those years is very great, as the two bulky volumes of Smith's Catalogue of Friends' Books testify; but if the other literature, theological and political (for there was little else), be taken into account, the total amount is truly vast. A collection of pamphlets, newspapers, etc., made between 1640 and 1666, by a bookseller named George Thomason, which was most fortunately preserved, and is now in the British Museum, numbers 22,255 pieces! This, it should be remembered, covers only twenty-six years.*

In the Dictionary above mentioned, a Friend naturally looks to see what can be learned of those who printed, published, and sold Friends' books. As comparatively little Quaker literature appeared before 1655, the Dictionary covers only about fifteen years of Quaker publishing.† A search, perhaps not exhaustive, has disclosed the names of several who dared to print and put their names on such literature. For it must be borne in mind that, for much of the time, it was the period of "licensed," that is to say, restricted printing, against which Milton, in his treatise, *Arcopagitica*, makes such an eloquent plea. While under the Commonwealth, there was comparative freedom, at the restoration of Charles II. the liberty of the press was greatly restricted, the laws of Charles I., and of Parliament were put in force, and new ones enacted. Under these, fines, imprisonments, and even death were inflicted for printing "seditious, treasonable, schismaticall, and scandalous books and papers." As usual, the Friends did not escape.

Taken alphabetically, the names noticed are the following:

"GILES CALVERT, a bookseller in London; Black-Spread-Eagle, St. Paul's Churchyard, 1639-1664. He was the publisher of much of the earlier Quaker literature, and his name appears on many of George Fox's tracts. It does not, however, appear that he ever was a Friend himself. On Cromwell's accession to power, he was one of those appointed official 'printers' to the Council of State. This appointment shows that he was in favor with the Government, and explains how it was that he was able

*Note. A catalogue of the collection has been recently published by the British Museum, 2 vols. 30 shillings.

†Note. George Fox's first dated work, according to Smith, was issued in 1652.

to publish Quaker books without restraint." He was once arrested and thrown into prison for publishing a certain pamphlet, but suffered only a few weeks' imprisonment. He died in 1664, and was succeeded by his wife, Elizabeth Calvert.* She was, both during her husband's lifetime, and afterwards, imprisoned several times by Sir Roger L'Estrange, the Surveyor of the Press, appointed by Charles II, in 1663."

"FRANCIS COSSINET, bookseller in London: (1) Golden Anchor in Tower Street at Mincheon Lane end; (2) Tower Street at the corner of Mincing Lane; (3) Anchor & Mariner in Tower Street, 1658-69. Dealt in sea-faring books and Quaker literature."

"WILLIAM LARNER, bookseller in London, 1641-59"; sold 'Baby Baptism meer Babism.'† etc., by Samuel Fisher; 'At the Sign of the Blackmore [moor] at Fleet-bridge, 1653.' This book was printed by HENRY HILLS (1647-85?), who was one of the 'printers' to the Council of State noted under Giles Calvert. It was also sold by 'RICHARD MOON, bookseller in London; Seven Stars in St. Paul's Churchyard, neer the great north doore.'"

"ROGER NORTON, JUNIOR, printer in London, 1662-68; printed for Giles Calvert a tract of Edward Burrough's" (Smith 1: 356).

"THOMAS SIMMONS, bookseller in London, Bull and Mouth, near Aldersgate, 1656-62; publisher of Quaker books." With Calvert and Robert Wilson, he was the publisher of most of the earliest Quaker books. Many of Fox's and Burrough's tracts bear his imprint. He does not appear in Smith as a Friend.

"ANDREW SOWLE, printer in London: (1) Pye Corner, Smithfield; (2) Crooked Billet, Holloway Lane, Shoreditch, 1653-67. Son of Francis Sowle, of the parish of St. Sepulchre's, yeoman. Born in 1628. Apprenticed on July 6, 1646, to Ruth Raworth for seven years. Although his name is not found in an imprint before 1683, there is no doubt that he was the printer

*Note. The large number (40) of women noted in the Dictionary who were printers or booksellers is remarkable; true, most of them were widows or daughters who succeeded to the business of husbands or fathers, but that fact of itself is worthy of special mention.

†Note. The title of this work, written by Samuel Fisher, is a good example of the long and singular titles so much affected in those days. It is too long to quote, but may be seen in full in Smith's Catalogue, 1: 613.

of most, if not all [?] of the early Quaker literature." "His daughter, Elizabeth, married, in 1685, her father's apprentice, William Bradford,* who emigrated to America and set up his press in Pennsylvania, and afterwards in New York." Another daughter, Tace Sowle, succeeded her father in his business, and ultimately married Thomas Raylton. She printed a number of Friends' books (see Smith 2: 157). She was, at her death, 1735-36, said to be the oldest printer in London. (See Jour. Friends' Histor. Society, 4: 4). Andrew Sowle died in 1695, aged 67. There is a very interesting account of him in "Piety Promoted" (vol. 1: 115-118, Phila. ed.). He became a Friend "in his young years" and "he bore a faithful testimony" for the rest of his life. "He met with great losses, and had, at one time, by his adversaries, about a thousand reams of printed books taken from him, yet he was never heard to complain." "His printing press also was several times broken up."

"WILLIAM WARWICK, bookseller in Colchester (?), 1663. His name is found on the imprint to a pamphlet entitled 'Some Worthy Proverbs Left Behind by Judith Zins-Penninck† to Be Read in the Congregation of the Saints.' Translated into *English* by one that testifieth that God is no respecter of persons, for whosoever worketh righteousness, and feareth him, of what Nation, Countrey, Tribe or Language soever he or she be, such find acceptance with the Lord. W[illiam] C[aton], London, Printed for William Warwick, 1663." W. Warwick also printed "A Testimony," etc., to Edward Burrough, in 1662; and William Ames's "Sound out of Zion," in 1663. The imprint, as given by Smith, "London. Printed and are to Be Sold by William Warwick," would seem to imply that in 1662 and 1663, Warwick was resident in London, and not Colchester, as the Dictionary supposes. (Smith 1: 367; 1: 28.)

"THOMAS WAYTE (or Waite), bookseller at York; The

*Note. The subsequent history of William Bradford in America, his work, and his connection with the Keith schism, is part of Pennsylvania history.

†Note. Judith Zins-Penninck or Zins-Penning, was a Dutch woman, the wife of Jacob Williamson Sewel, and the mother of William Sewel, the well-known Quaker historian. She died at Amsterdam, 10th, 7th month, 1664. A copy of the above tract, which is somewhat rare, is in the Haverford College Library. (See Smith's Catalogue of Friends' Books, 2: 980, 981. Sewel's History of the Quakers, London, 1722: 397, 398; 439-444).

Pavement, 1653-95. Joined the Quakers about 1651, and acted as local agent for Friends' publications. Several tracts, all dated 1653, written by George Fox, Richard Farnsworth, James Nayler, and William Tomlinson, have the imprint: "Printed for Tho. Wayte at his house in the Pavement in York," or "Printed for Thos. Wayte, and are to be sold," etc. Wayte's name occurs in a list of 'dispensers of Quaker books,' drawn up in 1664. He married the sister of Richard Smith, a tanner of York, and his house became a noted meeting place for Friends. Thomas Wayte died in 1695." (See also *First Publishers of Truth*, p. 318.)

"JOHN WHITE, bookseller in London; Threadneedle Street, behind the Old Exchange, 1661." He printed several tracts for George Fox. "Printed for John White and are sold at the back-side of the Old Exchange." (Smith 1:666.)

"ROBERT WILSON, bookseller in London; St. Martins le Grand, near Aldersgate, 1660 (?) - 62 (?). A dealer in Quaker literature. In a letter to Richard Smead, mercer of Bristol, written in 1661, he says: 'I am exposed in this day through many and frequent sufferings to severall difficulties: for very often am I plundered by ye rulers of my goods; burning them at home and abroad.' The same year he was committed to the Gatehouse for selling 'seditious pamphlets against the Government of the Church of England.' A list of books seized at his shop in that year was published in *Mercurius Publicus* on November 28th."

This closes the list of names noticed in the Dictionary, but doubtless a number of others could be traced by a careful comparison with the entries in Smith's catalogue. These will suffice to give some information on a not uninteresting topic.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

TITLES AND INDEXES.—It is expected to issue with the last number of volume 2, a Title and Index to volumes 1 and 2.

PARENTAGE OF THE EARLY FRIENDS.—“It is quite a mistake to suppose that the early Friends come only from common stock. Many were, doubtless, enrolled from among the laboring classes, but thousands also came of the very best county families, and hundreds can prove Royal descent.

“In this connection it may be mentioned that, even during the lifetime of George Fox, the new sect numbered about 60,000 people, and that therefore, in tracing the ancestry of present-day Friends, we are not dealing with the descendants of a *few* families, as is imagined by many who are not fully acquainted with the history of Quakerism. As an instance, it may be stated that, in all probability, at least half the members of the present House of Commons [1907], have Quaker descent, and indeed it is difficult to find one who has *no* Quaker ancestor.”

Josiah Newman in "Some Special Studies in Genealogy, pp. 51, 52.

THE SCOTCH COLLEGE IN PARIS.—The following “note” comes from Paris, through Norman Penney. No attempt has been

made to correct the English.

“It is still lasting in the Cardinal Lemoine Street, No. 65; but it is no more a college for Scotch or whatever students. It is a school where young men are prepared for the degree of bachelor. The buildings, at least some of them, have been preserved. In the parlor, tombs and funeral monuments are to be seen. The front on the side of the street has not been altered; it is a high, sad, sooty front with four lines of high narrow windows. Above the main door is this inscription: “College de Escossois.”

WILL OF LEWIS MORRIS, 1691.—In the will of Lewis Morris, of New York, “commonly called Colonel Morris,” upon whose estate “Letters of Administration [were] granted to his nephew, Lewis Morris, by Governor Henry Slaughter, May 15, 1691, there occur the following items: “I give to the meeting of Friends, called Quakers, belonging to Shrewsbury in East New Jersey, £5 per annum, to be raised out of my Plantation at Tinton Iron Works, in New Jersey, to be paid to them on the 25th day of the first month, called March.”

“I leave to my honored friend Wm. Penn, my negro man Yoff, provided he come to dwell in America.”

"I leave to the meeting in New York, £6 per annum, to be raised out of my Plantation over against Harlem."

"I leave to John Bowne of Flushing, 1 negro girl that is at old Thomas Hunts, and like legacies to Miles Forster and Richard Jones."

John Bowne was also appointed one of the "overseers" of the estate. (Collections of the New York Histor. Society, 1892. pp. 182, 183.)

LEWIS MORRIS, was no ordinary man. He was born in Monmouthshire, Wales, and fought at the head of a troop of horse against Charles I. He afterwards went to Barbados and bought a "lovely estate" there. In 1654 a commission as Colonel was sent to him by Oliver Cromwell, and he took part in the expedition against Jamaica. Sometime after this he openly professed the principles of the Friends, and welcomed George Fox on his visit to Barbados in 1671, and entertained him at his house. George Fox says, "I went home with Lewis Morice [Morris] that night, being about nine or ten miles, going part of the way by boat, the rest on horseback. The place where his plantation was, I thought to be, in the finest air of the island." (*Journal*, Bi-Cent. ed. 2: pp. 152, 153). On the death of his brother Richard, who lived in New York, he went there in 1673, and in 1675, removed and settled at Broncks-land [Bronx], Westchester county. He was a member of Governor Dongan's Council, (1683-1686). He

died, as stated above, in 1691. He suffered much in goods on account of his Quaker views while in Barbados. It was the estate of Richard Morris that gave the name to Morrisania, now part of New York City. (See Col. Docs. N. Y. 2: 619; "Memorials Admiral Penn" 2: 41, 42, 46; *Fox's Journal* (2: 152, 153. Bi-Cent.) Bessie's "Sufferings" 2: 313, 314, 315.)

INVENTORY OF LEWIS MORRIS'S ESTATE.—The inventory of this estate would seem odd for a Friend at the present time. "Inventory of estate of Colonel Lewis Morris, taken by Stephanus Van Cortlandt, John Pell and William Richardson, 1691. 3 gallons spirits, 12s; 1 barrel molasses, £1.10; 1 barrel muscovado sugar, £3.9; 900 ounces of Plate, at 3s. 9d., £303.15; 180 guineas, £211.3; 1 double guinea, £2.14; 23 Jacobuses [a gold coin of James I], £34.10; 6½ Jacobuses, £4.10; 4½do., £1.10; 1 Pistole, £1.4; 2 double doubloons £9.12; 50 acres wheat; £30; 22 negro men, £440; 11 negro women, £165; 6 boys, £90; 2 "garles," £24; 25 children, £125; 24 gallons refined molasses, at 18d, £1.16; 24 oxen, £72; 17 cows, £34; 4 bulls, £8; 30 horses, mares and colts, £60; 30 swine, £9. A very long list of articles showing great wealth. Total, £4,071." (Collections of New York Historical Society, 1892, p. 196).

RELEASE OF FRIENDS BY CHARLES II.—Among the very interesting relics in the Friends' Reference

Library at Devonshire House, London, and one with which George Whitehead was closely associated, is a copy of the "Charter of Release" or "Pardon" granted by Charles II, in 1672, to Friends who were in prison "convicted of a premunire," and other offences against the royal statutes, or "under sentence of transportation." Of such there were about 500.

This venerable document is written in Latin on eleven large skins of vellum, and contains the names of 491 persons lying in jail in England and Wales. The legal forms required that these names should be repeated eleven times. As the pardon had to be presented personally to the sheriff in every county, several copies of the document were made, each having the great seal of England attached in a metal case.

George Whitehead's account of how this pardon was obtained from the King, and how he and two other Friends went into the neighboring counties on horseback, carrying this precious "large instrument" with them, and thereby securing the liberty of many Friends, is graphically told in his autobiography. But to carry this release to the sheriff of every county, even with several copies, would involve much labor and uncertainty. It so happened that just at this time all the sheriffs of England and Wales came to London to attend a term of court, and George Whitehead saw his opportunity for solving a great difficulty—that of being certain to find the sheriffs. He tells us how he skillfully arranged

matters, and then how he and Ellis Hookes "went to the sheriffs severally at their inns and offices and shewed them the King's patent with the liberates, that they might see how agreeable they were, and they approved thereof and readily signed and sealed each liberate, being warrant to each jailer to set our Friends at liberty, out of jail in each county." (See *Christian Progress of George Whitehead, London, 1725*, pp. 350-366; for copy of Document and List of Names, pp. 696-712); also William Beck, "George Whitehead," London, 1901.

JOHN BUNYAN.—In the document just described there are a few names of persons not Friends. The story of their inclusion is too long to relate. Other persons were imprisoned for attending conventicles, and for preaching at the same. Among these was John Bunyan who had been kept in Bedford jail for twelve years. His friends were anxious to get him released, and also some others. Knowing of George Whitehead's efforts and success, they came to him for advice, "which," says George Whitehead, "I was very willing to give in compassion to them, and accordingly I advised them to petition the King (with the names of the prisoners in it), for his warrant to have them inserted in the same patent with the Quakers, which they accordingly did petition for and obtain." Among these was John Bunyan.

Though he had been a strong opposer of Friends, and he and

Edward Burrough had fulminated against each other in a style which surprises us of this day, Bunyan had no objection to be set free through the advice and assistance of the Quakers, or to have his name appear alongside of theirs in an official document.

ERRATIC SPELLING.—As an illustration of the uncertain spelling of the 17th century, it may be mentioned that out of the eleven times Bunyan's name appears in the document just mentioned, it is spelled in four different ways, viz.: Bunyan, five times; Bunnyan, three times; Bunnion, twice; Bunnyon, once. The spelling of this name seems to have been unusually erratic, for Bunyan's children appear on church registers as, Bunyan, Bonion, Bonyon (See George Whitehead, "Christian Progress," pp. 358, 359. John Brown, "John Bunyan," 3rd ed. London, 1888, pp. 187, 188, 238).

QUAKER RECORDS.—The excellence and accuracy of the Records of the English Friends has long been known. An interesting and valuable account of them has recently been published in "Some Special Studies in Genealogy," Edited by Charles A. Bernau.

This little handbook of 96 pages contains three parts: i, American Emigrants, How to trace their English Ancestry, By Gerald Fothergill; ii, The Quaker Records, By Josiah Newman; iii, The Geneal-

ogy of the Submerged, By Charles A. Bernau.

The thirty pages devoted to Quaker Records give a clearer idea of the subject than can probably be found elsewhere, certainly in as short a compass. The Bibliography, however, leaves a good deal to be desired. It is greatly to be regretted that American Friends, at least in some parts of the country, are behind their English brethren as regards accuracy and fullness in the matter of keeping records. This little book—the first of a series known as "The Genealogist's Pocket Library," is published by the Editor, Chas. A. Bernau, Walton-on-Thames, England, 1908.

The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society, vol. 5, No. 2, Fourth Month, 1908, as usual, is full of matters of historical interest. American readers will turn to "Records respecting John and Margaret Lynam in England and Maryland," which gives letters, and some quaint and interesting documents from the "Half-Years' Meet in Maryland," 18th, 4th Mo., 1683, regarding the "disorderly spirits" which troubled Friends of that Province.

Of still greater interest is the article on "Quaker Ministers and French Police," giving extracts from the records of the Prefecture of Police regarding the visit of Stephen Grellet and William Allen to Paris, dated "4 mai 1824," and "Documents from the Paris National Archives relating to Stephen Grellet."

PETITION OF JOHN BOWNE AND HENRY WILLIS.—"To the Governor and his Councill at New York. The address of Henry Willis and John Bowne, concerning the proceedings of a Court Seshons against us who said they fined us ten ponds apeece for suffering our daughters to marrie contrary to their law, which proceedings we are satisfied is without precedent, and we count it no less, but either a mistake or hasty oversight, and though we have endeavoured for its removal yet Execution is eishoed forth and Jos. Lee under shiref hath seases Hen. Willis' barne of corn and since taken from Jo. Bowne five good milch cowes and drove them away by night and kept them powdered from food moste of two nights, one day and part of a day, that neighbors was generally troubled at it. Now in simplissity we doe seriously in-treat all that may be conserved here in seriously to consider it and in the coolness of your spirits without anger or hard thoughts truly to waye it in the ballance of Equity where the witness of God may arise in every contience to testifie, whether it would not be to the rewenating of families and the kindling of God's anger against a place or people which we truly desire may be prevented, by taking away ye ocation, whereof we make our address to the Chiefe in authority knowing that Magistrates authority is to preserve men's persons and Estates, but ye prerogative of the conscience that belongs to God and we dare

not but yeald obedience thereunto as God hath perswaded our harts and we doe not act (as sometimes resented [taken]) in stubbornness, obstaincy or contempt of authority, but in simplissity, having God's fear in our hearts that we may keepe our consciences clear before him from whom we receive strength to uphold us in tryalls and exercise and we earnestly desire ye Lord may perswade your hearts unto whome we are now concerned, that ye may remove ye cause of this our address, and open that eye in you that can see us as we are, who can pray for those that's in authority that under them we may live a peaceable holy and godlike life.

HENRY WILLIS,
JOHN BOWNE.

Ye 4th of ye 7th mo. 1680."
(Ecclesiastical Records, New York, 1:744).

THE LAST DAY OF THE YEARLY MEETING IN 1813.

[The following verses give a vivid, probably an exaggerated, view of the return home from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in the olden days. The BULLETIN is indebted to a friend for a copy.—Ed.]

At length the dreaded day has
come,
When country-friends must all go
home
And leave their feasting here;
Must quit the richly loaded board,

With luscious pies and puddings
stor'd,
And sparkling wine or beer.

Farewell, dear hearts; they moan-
ing cry,
Still thinking on the dearer pie
Or sav'ry joint of meat;
Indeed 'tis very hard to part
From you—cranberry pie or tart,
Our homely fare to eat.

To leave your coffee, amber clear,
To drink skim'd milk, or homely
beer
And bread not worth a rush;
To leave your beds of softest
down,
Exchange for linsey frock the
gown,
And lie on beds of straw;

To rise to milking with the light
And go to rest before 'tis night,
Or wash our fingers raw;
Indeed we think it nation queer
That city folks should have such
cheer
And not a thing to do.

But yet it's wicked to complain,
For your excess is still our gain,
And you're so very kind,
You give us any price we ask
Whilst we put on the humble mask
And say, "we have not dined."

But now the much lov'd week is
o'er.
We from the town in numbers
pour
And seek our vacant farms;
Reflecting all the way we go,
On the dear place where pleasures
flow
And every object charms.

When Hodge tho' clad in russet
grey,
And gaping round has lost his
way,

Soon finds a kind friend's home,
Who asks him in, takes off his
coat,
And feeds him well without a
groat:
He need no further roam.

Now Hodge cleans off his thrice-
fill'd plate,
And fixing on his beaver, strait
Pursues the way to meeting.
And marching in with vacant
stare
Secures a corner bench or chair,
His country brothers greeting.

And when the Clerk proclaims
"adjourn,"
The brother clods together turn,
Says, "Josey where's he dine?"
"Why I don't know—but this here
friend
"Has ax'd me home, the day to
spend—
"But thy wife's gone with
mine."

"Let's go to Jesse Kersey's lodg-
ing,
"There many friends are always
dodging,
"But Tommy keeps the table.
"He came from Lunnun people say
"And dines on roast-beef every
day;
"Indeed he's very able."

This most important subject
known
The meeting business all is flown, 't
They briskly walk the street;

At length arrived at Tommy's
 door,
 Where drabs and sages inward
 pour,
 The gazing throng they greet.

But Tommy's table is too small
 To hold his guests—so some, not
 all,
 Must wait a second course;
 But now such sauces, so much
 meat,
 Each bounding to the nearest seat
 Secures't by friendly force.

Well now suppose the meal is o'er;
 Each bids farewell; then seeks
 the door,
 Where horses ready gear'd
 Await their master's well known
 voice,
 And take him home against his
 choice,
 Who this great change had
 fear'd.

First lumbers on, a waggon
 strong;
 And next a sulkey creaks along,
 And then a well worn chair;
 The waggon's number is but ten.
 Eight bounding girls, and two
 young men,
 Their horses black and fair.

The sulkey carries only two;
 The driver is obscur'd from view,
 With trunks and boxes hid,
 And bags and bundles pil'd so high
 You scarcely can the whip descry
 Slow moving as it did.

And next a chair comes rattling
 on
 With nearly all the harness gone,
 But Dapple moves sedate.
 Three rosy nymphs fill up the
 seat,
 With each a band-box at her feet,
 In Yearly Meeting state.

And now to guard these maidens
 fair,
 Three country beaux keep near the
 chair,
 On plowing coursers sitting,
 Each has an oil cloth o'er his hat,
 And folded up his white cravat,
 To keep for First-day meeting.

And while they move to'ards
 Schuylkill's banks,
 They meet the Jersey going ranks,
 Those noted money makers,
 Where boats perfum'd await the
 tide
 With glittering scales on either
 side
 First fill'd with fish—then Qua-
 kers.

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia

Contents

| | |
|---|-----|
| The Philadelphia Counterpart of the Boston Tea Party, as shown in the Letters of James & Drinker, Thomas B. Taylor, Part I. | 86 |
| Opening of Iowa Yearly Meeting, Charles F. Coffin | 110 |
| A Sketch of Farnham Monthly Meeting of Friends, Province of Quebec, Canada, Joshua Bull | 113 |
| A Visit to East Farnham, Canada, 1830, Rowland Greene . | 119 |
| Notes and Queries | 122 |
| Thomas Bowne—Books by Friends—New Edition of Journal of George Fox—"Quaker Boy at School"—Benjamin West not a Quaker—Journal of Friends' Historical Society—"The Quaker in the Forum"—"Love"—Martin Mason | |
| Index to Volumes I. and II. | 126 |

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THE PHILADELPHIA COUNTERPART OF THE BOSTON TEA PARTY.

(As shown by the correspondence of James & Drinker.)

INTRODUCTION.

BY THOMAS B. TAYLOR.

The introduction to the following letters is an attempt to portray some of the conditions in America and Philadelphia in the year 1773. The correspondence here presented is between James & Drinker, of Philadelphia, and Pigon & Booth, of London, England, and New York, concerning the attempted importation of tea from England under the provisions of the act of Parliament passed in May, 1773. The firm of James & Drinker was composed of Abel James and Henry Drinker, members of the Society of Friends, and prominent among the merchants of the town. They were large importers of dry goods and general merchandise, and owners of vessels used in the ocean carrying trade. Their warehouse was on the river front near Race Street. Henry Drinker was for some time Clerk of the Monthly Meeting of Friends of Philadelphia, highly esteemed as a member of the Society, and died in the year 1809.

Pigon & Booth were correspondents of James & Drinker in London and also in New York, where they maintained a house in charge of Benjamin Booth.

James & Drinker were subscribers to the celebrated non-importation agreement by the merchants and traders of Philadelphia entered into on October 25th, 1765, as a protest against the odious stamp act and evidently took an active part in its promotion, as Abel James was one of the committee of eleven named in the document to attend to obtaining subscriptions of the merchants of the town. As appears by letters of Henry Drinker published in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (Vol. 14, page 41), he himself became a member of the Executive Committee during or prior to 1769, when the non-importation agreements were renewed throughout the Colonies as a protest against the Revenue Act then existing. As we shall see by this correspondence James & Drinker and also Benjamin Booth received the appointment of Tea Commissioners in 1773. The letters of James & Drinker are from their original drafts made with pen and ink, to be copied by clerks, and filed with the originals of Pigon & Booth.

We have all as school children learned of the riotous act of the Bostonians in emptying ship-loads of Tea into their harbor, but many of us did not know or realize that the agitation and first steps of the resistance which developed into that riot were taken in the State House

yard, in Philadelphia; and that Philadelphia, as a community, was in as much of a ferment during that summer and autumn as was Boston or New York, the difference being simply in the temper of the respective peoples and their mode of treatment.

For three generations or more prior to 1764 the American Colonies had but lightly felt the governing hand of England. The country had been peopled largely at first by those whom England was well satisfied and even glad to be rid of—Puritans, Quakers and other religious dissenters, besides large numbers of political offenders, and criminals, whose sentence, to be “transported beyond sea,” meant that they be landed in America to begin life anew. These, in all comparatively a few thousand, had, at the time of which we write, grown, by natural increase, to a population of over 2,000,000 white inhabitants. Moreover in the free and open political and social atmosphere of America there had developed among them a strong and self-reliant citizenship, fully capable and willing for self-government, keenly alive to their advantages of location so far away from England, and jealous for the retention of their given and acquired rights.

Historians point out that it was the menace of the French colonizing on the Northern and Western borders that, prior to 1763, prevented England from attempting a more rigorous system of government for the Colonies. When, after the defeat and subjugation of the French Colonies, in 1763, the Mother Country the following year did commence the reconstruction of her Colonial affairs it proved to be too late. The transition into practical self-government and a condition of semi-independence had been going on, but so gradually that neither side was aware how far the process had gone, though doubtless some individuals may have thought they foresaw the inevitable result. The next ten years was a period of debate, an evolution of opinion towards the denial of the authority of Parliament and the avowal of the right to independence by the Americans. The Tea incident,—the subject of our correspondence,—marked the final attempt to regulate by Act of Parliament. The next year the concluding arguments were exchanged, the debate was finished. There was nothing left but organization for defense on the one side and for attempted coercion on the other, and the final stage of the Revolution was on.

But why *Tea*? What is the reason we hear so much about *smuggling* and *tea*?

One of the regulating measures of the British government was that of “Trade and Navigation,” another was of the “Revenue Laws.” Both of these caused trouble, distress and irritation to the Americans. The first dated back to the time of Cromwell and in theory were not objected to. They were intended to confine the trade of the Colonies to the Mother Country. The Colonies were prohibited from manufacturing, and were obliged to export their raw materials to England and import manufactured goods thence in return; and the ships and foreign traders were prohibited

from the trade excepting through England. These came to be burdensome provisions, but the Colonists virtually repealed them by disregarding them so that they were for generations practically a dead letter.

Hence Smuggling became, especially in later times, a meritorious practice, closely allied to patriotism, as proper and reasonable resistance and evasion of an odious regulation and effecting the needed "Free Trade." Those engaged in it were lauded and protected by the rebellious element. The customs became not worth collecting. Smuggling was not, however, confined or peculiar to this side of the Atlantic. The coasts of Britain swarmed with smugglers. It is stated, as many as 40,000 men were engaged in the business there at one time. We may conclude that our "Sixth Query"—"Do you maintain a faithful testimony against *** buying and selling goods fraudulently imported or prize goods?" is of very ancient origin, and doubtless Henry Drinker had many times read it out in Monthly Meeting and heard the answers thereto. He and his partner, therefore, could have no part in that kind of traffic, and we may imagine from his letters that Benjamin Booth was too loyal an Englishman to engage in it.

Passing by the Stamp Act, passed in 1765 and, by reason of the uproar it produced, repealed the following year, we come to the Revenue Act of 1767. This levied an import duty on paint, paper, glass and tea. This was also opposed and the resistance to it brought about its repeal in 1769 as to all except the duty on tea, which was reduced to 3d per pound and left as a test to the real sentiments of the Colonists. The latter had at first contended that while they might pay such a duty, as a contribution for the cost of their protection on the sea, they would not pay an "internal" tax, as the "Stamp tax" levied for revenue. This distinction, however, soon disappeared.

From this time until 1773 there appears to have been a lull so far as the taxation for revenue was concerned.

The duty on tea did not trouble the Colonists as the smugglers kept the country supplied from Holland, largely via. St. Eustatius.* There was some imported into Boston upon which the duty was paid, as is shown in the letter of November 10th from New York, but for the most part trade with England in tea was dull.

The East India Company is said to have had sixteen millions of pounds of tea stored in London upon which they paid a duty of a shilling per pound, and they were in a strait, and in danger of bankruptcy for want of a market. This Company being closely allied to the government group, the act of May 10, 1773, was for their relief and also as a further test on the Americans. The import duty was by its provisions to be

*St. Eustatius, a Dutch [West India] island and the center and seat of the American smuggling trade against the British navigation laws. It was seized by the British in Dec., 1780, after the declaration of war with Holland, who confiscated all property on it, amounting to fifteen million dollars.—Sidney George Fisher's "True History of the Revolution," p. 407.

remitted the East India Company and they were to collect the three pence per pound duty in America. If Boston, the most rebellious town in America, would continue to import the tea and pay the duty to the extent shown by the account above alluded to from the years 1769 to 1773 inclusive, England must have thought it reasonable to expect that the opposition of the Americans had subsided. The amount of the duty was trifling and, moreover, it was of such a character as the Americans at the beginning of the debate had admitted was within the prerogative of the King and Parliament to impose. Moreover, the American merchants had become restive under their non-importation agreements of a few years before and many had broken away and violated their pledges so that those who held fast felt themselves to have been duped, as James & Drinker point out in their letter of Tenth month 5th. In one of the letters of Henry Drinker heretofore published, as mentioned on page , with reference to this subject, under date of Fifth month 26th, 1770, he alludes to "the little dirty Colony of Rhode Island" having "shamefully broken faith with the others and imported a ship-load of goods as usual, put their committee to defiance, and are proceeding in the sales without regard to their suffering neighbors." (*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 14, page 41).

A pretty story is told of William Bradford, proprietor of the London Coffee House, which stood at the southwest corner of Front and Market Streets, and also the editor and publisher of the *Pennsylvania Journal*, that it was he who first urged and started the opposition to this importation of tea and collected the town meeting of 16th October, 1773, (*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 15, page 386). The resolves adopted at that town meeting were sent to Boston, which seems to have been in a condition of apathy on the subject, but was aroused by this action of the Philadelphians, and at a town meeting on November 5th, John Hancock, the presiding officer, is said to have declared that the "sense of this town [Boston] cannot be better expressed," and so they were adopted as a whole. The cities were flooded with broadsides, and written arguments pro and con appeared in the papers. The author of the address to "Tradesmen and Mechanics," herewith produced, is not known, but is a good deal of the style of John Dickinson. James & Drinker, as Tea Commissioners, appear to have run counter to the sentiments of the opposition committee and of the other Commissioners so far as expressed, in regard to landing the tea, although, as they state, the answer of the Whartons was kept secret, at least from them and the public. They were, however, true to their convictions of their duty as Friends, desirous to be submissive to government, and the risk they ran in daring to declare their sentiments is indicated by a glance at the notice dated November 27th and December 7th to the Delaware Pilots by the "Committee for Tarring and Feathering" which may be found in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 15, page 390-1. John Dickinson, signing as "Rusticus," wrote two letters on

the subject addressed "To a Gentleman in Philadelphia." In the one dated November 27, 1773, he says: "And as to the Commissioners, appointed to receive this Tea, notwithstanding you tell me the answer of one house was not satisfactory; yet from the knowledge I have of the gentlemen that compose that house, I would venture my life, they prefer the esteem of their fellow citizens above the honour or emolument of being servants of that infamous Company" * * * * *

"I shall, therefore, conclude with a proposal that your watchmen be instructed as they go their rounds to call out every night, 'Past 12 o'clock, beware of the East India Company'" (Life and Writings of John Dickinson).

The Bostonians, of course, could not be moderate and so they permitted the ships to enter, and then pitched the cargo overboard. At Charleston the tea was landed, as suggested by James & Drinker, and rotted in the warehouse. At Annapolis the tea was burned. At New York the captain was warned and kept out by not attempting to land. The Philadelphians were careful not to allow Captain Ayres to enter, but permitted him to formally protest, graciously loaned him the money to revictual his ship and bade him depart in peace. The events of the next year and the one thereafter followed in rapid succession and all tended directly to independence. If the perusal of these letters shall incite to a careful review of the history of this period in the life of our Nation, their preservation will not have been in vain. They surely are an interesting and valuable addition to the local history of Philadelphia and of Friends' connection with it.

THOMAS B. TAYLOR.

LETTERS OF JAMES & DRINKER.

LONDON, 26th May, 1773.

MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER,

Dear Sirs,—

I take the first opportunity of acquainting you that the East India Company have obtained leave by act of Parliament to export their Tea from England duty free, and that in a very short time perhaps a month a Cargoe will be sent by them to Boston for to be sold in that place on their acc't & they mean to keep America so well supplied that the trade to Holland for that article must be greatly affected.

I am,

Dear Sirs,

Your most obed't Serv't

Fred'k Pigon Jun'r
for self & Benj'n Booth.

The Tea is to be subject to the
duty payable in America.

(Endorsed on the above letter is the following)

Sirs,—

I was out of Town when this Letter arrived by the Pkt. which is the reason of it's having been detained a few days.

The regulation about Tea is talked of after this manner. That the India Comp'y will sell their Tea so low at Boston, it must find its way all over the continent, and therefore had better be received from London at once. The only persons who are suspected of making opposition are the smugglers, all professed Sons of Liberty; but no person that I have conversed with scruples to say "make me the Agent, and I'll undertake to land the Tea, and sell it too." There are many surmises who will be the Agent here. Reade & Kelly write their friends that they have made strenuous applications. I have pointed out to Pigon by this Packet, the inconveniences that will attend the appointment of more than one Agent at the same port, and have desired him to use his influence in preventing it.

Your favor of the 27th ultimo. is before me, which I hope to have the pleasure of answering in Person on Thursday seven-night, meanwhile I remain

Sirs,

Your most obed't Serv't

New York,

BEN BOOTH.

4th August, 1773.

To

MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER,
Merchants,
Philadelphia.

London, 26th May, 1773, from Pigon & Booth, & letter annexed from Benj. Booth dated New York 4th August 1773.

LONDON, 27th May 1773.

MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER,

Dear Sirs,—

I have already wrote you of this date which letter I desire may be made public.

By that you will observe the intention of the East India Company. On the arrival of their Teas in Boston they are subject to the duty payable in America I think of 3 d Sterling, and as Boston have admitted the Teas from England that place will most likely be the Port to which the Comp'y will export, the consequence of which will be that the duty will be paid and afterwards should the English Tea be cheaper than the Dutch, Philada., New York and other ports on the continent will smuggle it in from Boston instead of Amsterdam; this will certainly happen if your City's should refuse to purchase or to drink the Teas which have paid a duty in your own provinces.

I have made application to some of the Directors & have the promise of the Deputy Chairman that the house I recommend in Philada. and New York shall have a share of the consignments made to those ports by the

Co. provided any goes and am inclined to think they will send a Cargoe to your City's which if you refuse to become purchasers of the vessels must have direction to go to Boston or elsewhere. I shall esteem myself happy to introduce so good a Commission to you, and am for Self and Partner

Dear Sirs,
Your much obliged & Honorable Serv't
F. PIGON JUN'R.

To

MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER
Merchants,
Philadelphia.

London, 27th May, 1773, from Pigon & Booth.

LONDON, 7th July, 1773.

MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER,

Dear Sirs,—

Believe the Tea affair will soon take place, also that you will be appointed one of the agents for the Company.

* * * * * We remain respectfully,

Dear Sirs,

Your most obed't Serv'ts
PIGON & BOOTH.

To

MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER
Merchants
Philadelphia.

Per Packet.

London, 7th July, 1773, Copy from Pigon & Booth.

LONDON, 24th July 1773.

MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER,

Dear Sirs,

* * * * * The Tea affair is in forwardness at the India house. Mr. Samuel Wharton desires to be remembered to you, he is endeavoring to get his Brothers Thos. & Isaac as one of the Agents, at same time he joins me in putting your house as another. The particulars it is needless to write till somehow determined. We remain in great haste.

Your much obliged h'ble Serv'ts

(Copy, original per Catherine).

(On the back of the above letter is written the following:—)

LONDON, 4th August 1773.

MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER,

Dear Sirs,—

You have herewith Copy of our last. Having wrote our house fully on the subject of Teas by this packet, beg leave to refer you to a Copy of said Letter on the subject, also to what Sam'l Wharton writes his Brothers in which he treats particularly on the Political ground, it being his opinion the Americans will not object to the importations. We have been so happy to obtain for you a share of the Commission and be the event as it may, we could not but have taken great blame to ourselves had we neglected the application in your behalf. * * * * *

Your most obed't & humble Serv'ts,

PIGON & BOOTH.

To

MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER,

Merchants

Philadelphia.

London, 24th July & 4th Aug., 1773, from Pigon & Booth.

NEW YORK, 29th September 1773.

Sirs,—

We wrote you the 17th current since which we are without any of your favours. Last Sunday arrived here the Rosamond, Captain Miller, after a short passage from London, which he left so suddenly (in order to get the start of two others) that he brought very few letters, but he has given us the following verbal intelligence. That the New York Captains had been applied to by the India Company to take in Tea, which they refused. That they then chartered a vessel, and were beginning to load her with Tea for this Port, and had appointed Kelly, Lott & Co.; Henry White, and ourselves their Agents here, and that some Quaker was appointed at Philadelphia. He further added that the Tea was to be sold at Publick Sale as in London; this has caused a little hubbub among us, and various sentiments are expressed. We shall advise you further as anything material turns up and are

Sirs

Your most obed't Serv'ts

PIGON & BOOTH.

To

MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER

Merchants in

Philadelphia.

New York, 29th Sept., 1773, from Pigon & Booth.

NEW YORK, 4th October 1773.

Sirs,—

I have received your favour of the 29th ultimo. Last post I forwarded you a copy of Mr. Pigon's letter on the subject of Tea; since which I have had a meeting with Mr. Lott and Mr. White, and on comparing notes we found we were to expect a determined opposition on the part of the Smugglers, who are a formidable body among the Merchants, and will of themselves be able to raise a considerable Mob, including a great number of retainers, such as Boatmen, Along-Shore men, Carmen and Porters, who are all paid highly for their services, and therefore interested against us. It seems a Vessel is chartered to bring the Teas, but which port she will first touch at, we are yet to learn. Report says she will first come hither and discharge all the Teas, which are to be sent in other bottoms to Philada. and Boston. This however we cannot readily believe, and should rather suppose, as a difficulty was expected to arise upon the landing, that she would first touch at Philada., then here, and afterwards go to Boston if it could not be landed at the other ports. This seems to be the most natural conclusion, and we believe you will agree with us that it would be fortunate if it should be so ordered. If she touches first at your Port, we suppose the Tea may be landed with a tenth part of the opposition that it would meet with here, because we have ten times the number of People interested in preventing it, but if she should come hither first, and we should be baffled in the first attempt, it would give strength to the opposition with you, and our being unable to land the Teas, would establish a precedent that will for ever after render it impracticable either with you or us. If you see this matter in the same light that we do, you will no doubt be willing to join us in the expense of keeping a Vessel off Cape May, and another off Sandy Hook, with orders signed by the Agents at both ports directed to the Master of the Vessel, requiring him first to proceed to Philada. if it can be done without prejudice to the Insurance. What I have wrote you will consider as addressed to all the Agents, whom you will no doubt consult upon this occasion. It may not be amiss to inform you that every measure will be pursued that is likely to infuse a malignant spirit among your Citizens, and we shall not be surprised to see emissaries dispatched for that purpose. With respect to ourselves as Agents to the Company, we mean to be very firm to the trust reposed in us, that we will neither be awed by the number of our opponents nor terrified by their threats, fully convinced that they act upon interested motives. We have maturely considered that if the East-India Company should choose to lodge all their Goods in Warehouses on this Continent, and pay a Million of Money to Government by virtue of any Act of Parliament whatever, that it can in no respect be said to infringe the liberty of an American Subject.

We shall be glad to receive an immediate answer to this, and to know your sentiments in general upon a subject that concerns you equally with ourselves. If anything is to be done no time ought to be lost, for a Ship

is soon loaden with Tea, and she may be here even before we begin to expect her. The handle which the Smugglers have laid hold of, with a view of interesting the whole body of Merchants, is a very specious one—they say the India Company are endeavoring to monopolize the Tea Trade, and by this regulation will effectually exclude every other person from importing Tea. Tho' this may be literally true, yet as the Tea will be sold here at Publick Sale under the same regulation as in London, surely the Dealers in Tea can purchase here with greater security, than at 3000 Miles distant by means of a Factor.

I am, Sirs,

Your most obed't Serv't

BEN. BOOTH.

To

MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER

Merch'ts in

Philadelphia.

New York, 4th Octo., 1773, from Pigon & Booth.

PHILADA., 10th Mo. 5th, 1773.

Respected Friends,

On the evening of the 3rd Instant we wrote you a few lines to go by William Rickman the next morning in the Land Stage, which we expect may be with you this evening or to-morrow morning with the several setts of Exchange inclosed therein. We there mentioned our intentions of conferring with Thomas Wharton & Jon'n Browne, which we have had an opportunity of doing, but very little arises from thence to communicate, as they can state the matter in no new light and until we have a more particular Acc't of the plan laid down by the India Directors & their instructions for executing the same, the difficulties which may attend the Scheme cannot be pointed out by us. Yet we wait to hear from you whether anything material has occur'd upon the late meeting of the New York Agents.

We find many people in this City ready enough to say, the Tea ought not to be received when it arrives & no one should purchase it &c. &c.—but we don't discover as yet that Spirit of opposition, which seem'd to govern formerly in the Case of the Stamp & Revenue Acts. Many people reason coolly on the matter & say if our neighbors of Boston & the other Colonies admit the Tea, we should also & not to be dupes to them as indeed we were during the Non-importation agreem't. For we find divers quantities of Tea have been entere'd at our Customs House from Sept. 1771 to August last, which have arrived from Halifax, Boston & Rhode Island, all which had paid the Duty in question and this shows that those places have been in the practice of importing the Teas & paying the Duty imposel thereon by what has been called the Revenue Act. And we are informed that all the Colonies to the Southward of this have

constantly imported from England and of consequence paid the Duty. And to us the Case of the East India Company seems materially to differ from that of the American Importer, for the Company finding that our Colony and yours were furnished with Teas by Smugglers, have come to this determination that they, who are a Body Politic within the Island of Great Britain and not Americans nor American Importers, will pay the Duty, (for if Agents pay it for them and on their acc't, it is in fact the same as if they were present & paid it themselves), and after such Duty is paid, then by a Public Sale dispose of quantities so low as to knock up the contraband Trade so far as it relates to that Article, and which has so direct a tendency to corrupt the Morals of all engaged therein & destroy the most solemn ties which the laws of our Country have made for the good of society.

We think no time should be lost in obtaining from the Custom House Books in Boston & Rhode Island a Certified Acc't of all Teas imported there from England which have paid the Duty this commodity so imported is subject to. Such an Acc't will tend much to quiet any opposition that may be made here & we suppose it would have the same effect with you. We therefore wish you would promote this step as soon as may be & when the Certificate or information is obtained to advise us the needful thereon.

S. Wharton hinted the propriety of the Agents appointed for this place meeting those of N. York in some part of the Jerseys about mid-way, to consult on the proper steps to be pursued. As yet we don't see the use of such a meeting but you may think of it.

Just now we have your favor of the 4th and tho' we have gone over the contents with a good degree of care & attention, yet time don't admit our communicating to the other Agents what you have wrote on the Subject which concerns us all, or to collect our own tho'ts so as to give you our Sentiments on the several matters mentioned. It was natural enough for the New York Agents from the present appearance of things amongst them, to be thoughtful about the reception & Landing of the Tea upon its arrival. But so far as we can judge in the short time we have had to consider of the matter, it appears too important to be suddenly determined on, if at all, that of employing Vessels to look out & Order the Tea to a different port from that which was intended by the India Directors. We shall lose no time in consulting the other Agents & embrace the next post or earlier opportunity of advising the result of such conference,—untill when we must rest your

Assured Friends.

10 Mo. 5th, 1773, to Pigon & Booth, New York.

Respected Friends,—

PHILADELPHIA, 10 Mo. 7th, 1773.

We have since ours by last post communicated to Thomas Wharton & Jon'n Browne the contents of your favor of the 4th current and

what we wrote to you preceding and after the rec't thereof, the 5th Instant. Their views and ours seem nearly the same as to the propriety of employing two small Vessels or Pilot Boats to await near Cape May & Sandy Hook for the arrival of the Ship with the Tea from London.—Altho' that measure might on some accounts be desirable, yet there appears so much danger as to our own private Fortunes & that of bringing on us the Public Censure, in the pursuit of it, that we all think it will be much the best to let the matter take its course under the Orders of the India Directors untill it comes before the Agents at their respective places of Action, when we mean to preserve Temper and firmness, not to be aggravated or drawn into an undue warmth by the forward & busy Spirits of some that may probably be active on the Occasion. — Yet at same time to endeavor to be steady in fulfilling the Trust reposed in us, unawed by the Bustle & Noise that may be made by any person or persons whatsoever, believing with you that in general the opposition will arise from Interested motives and of consequence not deserve our serious attention, nevertheless, where Men of principle and Candour call upon us & drop their Sentiments in a Friendly manner as becoming fellow Citizens, desirous of ours & the public peace—we shall think it our business to pay a respectfull attention to such & if not convinced by their arguments at least not offend by an unfriendly reception of persons so conducting.

We have it hinted to us and we are ready to believe it, that a Letter or Letters have been wrote to Boston, inquiring the part that would be acted there & inciting to a steady opposition, and are told that some pains have been taken in this City to sound the dispositions of the people upon this question, whether upon arrival of the Tea it should be suffer'd to be landed—and that a difference of sentiment prevailed, some were for its being received quietly & then Measures to be adopted effectually to prevent its being bought or sold. Others would by no means assent to its being landed. But we rather think Men of property & weight will generally be for suffering it to be landed & Stored.

We don't find any Letter by this Post from you and as nothing further occurs upon the Interesting Subject before us, we conclude with assuring you of our continued attention thereto & writing from time to time what may occur thereon—& requesting a like care may rest with the Agents in your City to impart to us as early as may be every material matter that may relate to the Agency, being with Esteem your assured Friends.

10 Mo. 7, 1773

To

PIGON & BOOTH,

NEW YORK, 8th Octo. 1773.

Sirs,—

We received your favour of 3rd current, inclosing four Bills of Exchange value 330 Pds. 16. Am. We have also received your favour of the 5th current, giving us the result of your conference with Messrs. Wharton & Browne. We have used nearly the same Arguments that you have, with the cool and dispassionate, but the number of those that will listen to any reason we find to be very few. The cry is, if this Tax is submitted to, it will immediately be followed by others, and that if the India Company succeed in establishing a Monopoly of one Commodity, they will also attempt a second and a third, till the whole Foreign Trade of this port falls into the hands of a few monopolizers; this last argument we observe weighs more with the Merchants in general than the other, for by a measure of this kind they consider themselves as totally excluded from the importation of Tea, and they say this may soon extend to many other Articles. The general voice seems to be against the landing of the Tea, but the more moderate are for having it landed and not sold; we are most afraid of the last measure, for the Freight and Duties of 600 Chests of Tea will amount to above 3000 Pds. Sterl'g, so that they may not only lock up the Tea, but our Money along with it. Hand Bills were circulated last night entitled the Alarm No. 1. It contains a short history of the rise and progress of the East India Company and is in general such a dull labored piece, that we did not think it worth the postage. We shall take the proper measures to get information from Boston and Rhode Island respecting the Tea that has been landed there and paid the Duty, it may be of some service to you, tho' we fear it will be of little to us.

We are, *Sirs*,

Your most hble Serv'ts,

PIGON & BOOTH.

Exchange 80 per C't.

To

MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER

Merchants in

Philadelphia.

New York, 8th Oct., 1773, from Pigon & Booth.

NEW YORK, 13th Oct. 1773.

Sirs,—

We have received your favour of the 9th current inclosing a piece signed Scavolus, who is a very different Writer from the Author of the Alarm. No. 2 of that Paper is inclosed; we cannot now meet with the preceding Number, it consisted chiefly of extracts from Rapin's History of England. There are two points in which you do not seem to be of the same opinion with us. It appears to be your sentiments that the

India Company will direct which Port the Vessel shall first touch at; but this did not appear to be the case when it was in agitation to ship 600 Chests for this port. The three Friends of the Agents here seemed to have the whole of that matter under their management, and each preferred the Vessel he wished to serve. We therefore are of opinion that the whole direction of the Voyage will be left to those Gentlemen who have become our Secruities, and if they have any discretionary powers, it is more than probable they will transfer them to us. You say it will be easy to raise the Money for the Duties, by obtaining an indulgence from the Custom House; this we can also procure, but it must be by giving Bonds for the Money, which Bonds will be in force against us if the Tea should either be burnt or locked up so as never to be sold. Our private intelligencers inform us that the common people are very slow at apprehending this to be a matter of so much moment as the Smugglers would represent it, for the idea of a monopoly dwells so strongly on their minds that they have almost forgot the Tax; and several Tradesmen of weight and influence upon application being made to them to appear warmly in the opposition, have been heard to declare, that, they thought it was a dispute between the Merchants, and ought to be settled among themselves. We also learn that the retailers of Tea are not easily brought over; the Smugglers have for sometime past put a heavy Yoke upon their Necks, which they seem very desirous to shake off. It is something singular that there should not at this time be more Tea in Town than will supply the demands of this City above a fortnight longer, and tho' there are great quantities at St. Eustatia, it will be four or five weeks before any is expected to arrive.

Scavolus is reprinted here, and is now dispersing thro' the City. We have no Letters from you by this Post, so that we have only to add that we are

Sirs,

Your most obed't Serv'ts
PIGON & BOOTH.

To

MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER
Merchants in
Philadelphia.

New York, 13th Oct., 1773, from Pigon & Booth.

PHILADA., 14th of 10 Mo. 1773.

Esteemed Friends,
PIGON & BOOTH, New York.

We have just now rec'd yours of 13th Instant and shall note its Contents & the paper inclosed.

From all we can yet learn our Tradesmen & common Country People take the matter as yours do, but our Merchants & those people who have been Famous in the late Times for Opposition to the Stamp Papers &

Revenue Laws are warm on this Occasion, & just now there is put on the Coffee House Book a Notice to the Inhabitants to meet next Seventh day at 2 o'clock at the State House to consider of the most effectual methods to prevent the Landing the Tea & Oppose the Scheme of the East India Company to enslave the Colonies &c. &c.

And we have it intimated to us that a Committee will then be appointed to confer with the Agents in this City & probably demand of them what part they mean to act upon the arrival of the Tea, of which we shall hear more and advise.

Our papers contain one or two pieces on this subject which will no doubt be with you.

As we write to you as Friends with whom we have an intimate & near connexion & are therefore less on our guard in imparting our sentiments than we should otherwise be, we therefore request all our Letters on this Subject may be carefully kept to yourselves and we shall observe the like caution here with your Letters. Time don't admit our adding more than being

Your assured Friend,

14th of 10 Mo., 1773. Letter to Pigeon & Booth at New York.

Sirs,—

NEW YORK, 18th October 1773.

We have received your favour of the 14th current. On Thursday evening there was a partial meeting of the Merchants, or more properly of the Smugglers, which produced Hand Bills on Friday morning, desiring all the Merchants to meet at the Coffee House the same day at noon, to thank the London Captains for so nobly refusing to carry the Tea; and altho' these Hand Bills were stuck up in every part of the Town, no more people met than usual, and after reading a paper which few attended to, it was concluded with a very faint Huzza. Their plan was to have carried this measure in the Chamber of Commerce, at the last monthly meeting; but only five or six members attending, they could not make a Board. They had no better success in endeavoring to form a Committee, for they justly concluded that a Committee of Smugglers would not be proper; so they applied to Mr. Isaac Low, the former Chairman, desiring him to call the old Committee, but he thought fit to decline it; from whence it appears that, they can have no Committee without calling a general meeting of the Merchants, and it does not seem an easy matter to bring them together upon this occasion; from all which, and the universal backwardness among the common People to join in the opposition, we are led to conclude that if the Agents act with a proper spirit, there will not be much difficulty either in landing or selling the Tea. You will observe their plan to be deeply laid with respect to obtaining a resignation of the Agents at either place; if you were to resign, it would add great strength to the opposition here, and our resigning would no doubt have the same effect with you.

If any application is made to us before the Tea comes, our reply will be that, we have not a line from the India Company, and can give no answer till the Tea arrives and we receive our instructions from them. But we look still further; we suppose the Tea to be come, and the opposition arrived to such a height that it may neither be prudent or safe to hold out any longer; we shall then require as the only condition upon which we will resign, that, if our private property must be sacrificed to the Publick good, before we give up so valuable a Commission, we must be well assured that neither the Merchants, nor any Retailer, will buy, receive, or sell any English Tea, however CHEAP IT MAY BE SOLD in the other Colonies. We may be told that such an agreement already subsists, but circumstances are greatly altered since that Agreement was made; we will appeal to the Custom House Books to prove that Tea has been frequently brought from the other Colonies, even when the difference in price gave no such temptation; and we can safely appeal to the judgment of the most partial, that if Tea should be at 2/6 per lb. in Boston or Rhode Island, and 4 or 5/ here, whether we have any security that it will not be brought here and sold, unless there is a new, a solemn engagement entered into, by every Merchant and Retailer in the City. The justice of this condition will strike every reasonable man, and it will effectually pose the opposition, for out of 100 Retailers, they cannot find 10 that will sign any agreement whatever. There would then be no difficulty in landing or selling the Tea, because we could plead a majority in our favour. When you have considered this, you will be pleased to give us your sentiments, how far you think such a plan may be serviceable to you or us, supposing us to be reduced to the alternative of putting it in execution, or immediately resigning our Commission. It is not unlikely that by reflecting upon it, you may be able to set it in a more forcible light; at the same time we assure you that we consider everything we write or receive from you on this subject, to be done in the greatest confidence, and that we shall never shew any of your Letters, nor even make use of your arguments unless when the latter may be necessary, to revive the drooping spirits of our Colleagues, which we are sorry to say too often want a Cordial. Pepper for the first time this three years now sells for a profit, and will soon bear a good price; indeed the demand for Goods in general is greatly altered for the better. We shall be obliged to you to desire your Broker to negotiate for us on the best terms he can, the inclosed Bill, being Rich'd Brewer on Thomas Shubrick of Charlestown for 77 Pds. Sterl'g.

We are, Sirs,

Your most hble. Serv'ts

PIGON & BOOTH.

To

MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER,

Merch'ts in

Philadelphia.

New York, 18 Oct., 1773, from Pigon & Booth.

PHILADA., 10 Mo. 19th, 1773.

Respected Friends,—

Since we wrote you on the 14th Instant we remain without any of your further favours. We then mentioned a Meeting intended at the State House on Seventh day last—at which if our information is right, about 250 or 300 persons were assembled. James Allen, Esq., it is said, was to have been Chairman, but that the Gov'r, his Bro'r-in-law interfered—some say Doctor Thomas Cadwallader, & others, John Ross, Esq., acted as Chairman. However the latter Harrangued the people, tho' we don't find that any material matters passed except the Resolves proposed as mentioned in the Public Papers. The Committee appointed to wait on the East India Directors' Agents were Geo. Clymer Esq., Peter Knight, Jeremiah Warder Jun'r, Wm. Moulder, Thomas Penrose, Benj'n Loaley, Abr'm Bickley, John Allen Esq., John Wilcocks, Wm. West, Thomas Barclay & Lambert Cadwallader—& yesterday all of them except Wm. West call'd on us about 11 o'clock & afterwards waited on Thos. & Isaac Wharton, & in the Evening at the Coffee House. had the following Report drawn up & read to a number of persons waiting to hear the result of their conference with us.

[The report unfortunately was not preserved.—T. B. T.]

* * * * *

After reading what related to Thos. & Isaac Wharton a loud clap ensued & upon reading their report of our Answer to their request a Hiss was heard from divers in the Coffee House. We have not been able to collect the Answer delivered by Thos. & Isaac Wharton; they assure us it was the same in substance with ours, but if that was the Case, the Committee must have acted an invidious part. This we know, that T. & J. W. & Jon'n Browne did agree to make the same Answer, and if either have or do depart from it, we can't help it, but as honest Men, who were to account at a future day, when reason may take place of Rage & Faction, we could not think ourselves justified in going further in our reply to the Committee who made a peremptory demand that we should resign our Commission (before we had any) from the East India Directors.

Thus you see we are in the way of trouble & no doubt but that class of Men among us called the Sons of Liberty will treat us as very bad Men, for acting a part which we conceive becomes every good & honest Man circumstanced as we are, & truly desirous of preserving the peace & good order of the City & to prevent the evils which the mad and ungovernable conduct of some might be a means of bringing on us.

We have just now received your favour of 18th Inst. & shall attentively consider the Contents & by some future conveyance impart what occurs thereon to

Your assured Friend,

NEW YORK, 20th Oct. 1773.

Sirs,—

* * * * * The tea intended for this Port was actually shipped by the Nancy Captain Caldwell, and our F. P. says, he has great cause to think that by an Agreement with the Treasury the Duty would not be paid in America. Mr. White's friend writes it is absolutely so settled, and the Vessel would sail in 7 days from the 26th of August. This is joyful news, and will be so heavy a stroke upon the Smugglers, that we shall not wonder if it drives them to some act of desperation. We see by your favor of yesterday, that this Letter will relieve you from some anxiety. The Captain who brings this Account is a Stranger and has circulated a report that the Tea will not come at all, and as we hear of no Letters on the subject besides our own, we let it pass so, till time undeceives them; if it answers no other end, it will be a means of keeping the Town quiet.

We are, Sir,

Your most hble Serv'ts

PIGON & BOOTH.

To

MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER

Merch'ts in
Philadelphia.

New York, 20th Oct., 1773, from Pigon & Booth.

RESOLVES OF A "GREAT NUMBER OF THE INHABITANTS,
MET AT THE STATE HOUSE OCTOBER 16TH, 1773."

Following are the resolves alluded to in the foregoing letter:

At a meeting of a great number of the Inhabitants of Philada. on Saturday the 16th Octob'r, the following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

1st. That the Disposal of their own Property is the inherent Right of Freeman, that there can be no Property in that which another can of Right take from us without our Consent, that the Claim of Parliament to tax America is in other words a Claim of Right to levy Contributions, on us at Pleasure.

2d. That the Duty imposed by Parliament upon Tea landed in America is a Tax on the Americans or levying Contributions on them without their Consent.

3d. That the express Purpose for which the Tax is levied on the Americans, namely, for the Support of Government, administration of Justice and Defence of his Majesty's Dominions in America has a direct Tendency to render Assemblies useless & to introduce Arbitrary Government & Slavery.

4th. That a virtuous & steady Opposition to the ministerial Plan of governing America is absolutely necessary to preserve even the Shadow of Liberty & is a duty which every Freeman in America owes to his Country, to himself and to his Posterity.

5th. That the Resolution lately entered into by the East India Company to send out their Tea to America, subject to the Payment of Duties on its being landed here, is an open attempt to enforce this ministerial Plan, & a violent attack upon the Liberties of America.

6th. That it is the Duty of every American to oppose this Attempt.

7th. That whoever shall, directly or indirectly, countenance this Attempt or in any wise aid or abett in unloading, receiving or vending the Tea sent or to be sent out by the East India Company while it remains subject to the Payment of a Duty here, is an Enemy to his Country.

8th. That a Committee be immediately chosen to wait on those Gentlemen, who it is reported are appointed by the East India Company to receive & sell said Tea, & request them from a Regard to their own Characters & the Peace & good Order of the City & Province immediately to resign their Appointment.

As the Committee lately appointed at the State House, and who called on us on the 18th Instant have reported that our Answer to them was not so candid and explicit as that of Thomas and Isaac Wharton, we think it proper & just to ourselves to inform the Publick, that in the Conversation with the Committee we did tell them what we now repeat, *that we neither meant or intended to do anything that would be disagreeable to our fellow citizens* or words of this import, and also "that our Ideas of the American Revenue Act, were the same with those of our Fellow Citizens generally" which we have since been told is a part of our Answer not sufficiently explicit. We seriously declare, that it never occurred to us, that these words could mean or bear any other construction than this generall Sentiment amongst the People "That if the said Act was enforced here, it would be an infringement of our common Rights as Englishmen".

And the Public may be assured that in the Conversation we had with the Committee, it was our intent and meaning, however our words may have been construed, *That the People should be left under no doubts or anxiety, respecting our Conduct*, which, as we before told the Committee, we intend shall be open and Friendly.

JAMES & DRINKER.

Philadelphia October 22nd, 1773.

The late Committee are glad to hear that Messrs. James & Drinker have thought proper to enter into an Explanation of the answer made to their request the 18th instant, as they conceive it stood considerably in need of one.

Its Ambiguity was striking to every Member of the Committee, and has since in the Publick Opinion well justified them in saying, it was neither Candid nor Explicit, and the Committee are particularly well pleased to hear that by the declaration they then made "*that their Ideas of the American Revenue Act were the same with those of their Fellow Citizens generally*" they meant that "*If the said Act was enforced here it would be an Infringement of our Common rights as Englishmen*", a matter about which the Committee were in doubt, as those Gentlemen in the Conversation with them insinuated that the Resolutions agreed to at the State-House might not speak the general Sense of the Inhabitants,—which, said they, "was difficult to be known".

But the Committee cannot help thinking the Declaration still defective in some points,—for it is rather explanatory of their Sentiments respecting the Act in question, than of their intended Conduct, if they should be called upon by the East India Company to put it in Execution. They entertain no doubt, however, that their Conduct will *now* be such as their Fellow Citizens have a right to require of them,—as a contrary one after their explicit declaration of the mischievous and fatal Tendency of the Act would be indeed doubly criminal.

The Committee assure the Public that what they gave as the Answer of Messrs. James & Drinker was deliberately given by them—taken Verbatim in writing—and afterwards read over to them, and acknowledged as such—and that they have since, neither added thereto, nor taken from it.

October 23rd

NEW YORK, 25th October 1773.

Sirs,—

* * * * * The last news from England has given a very different appearance to the opposition; some of the first people begin to look forward to a period when they may be able to wrest the Commission out of our hands, or at least share it with us, and we have already been told with a sneer, that we must not expect to keep it long to ourselves; we pretend great fears on this Account, and say we are apprehensible least there should not be an opposition sufficient to give us a claim of merit with the East India Company for continuing the Commission where it now is. * * * *

We are, Sirs,

Your most hble Serv'ts

PIGON & BOOTH.

MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER

Merch'ts in
Philadelphia.

New York, October 25th, 1773, from Pigon & Booth.

PHILADA., 10th Mo. 26th, 1773.

Respected Friends,—

The more we see and are informed of the present Spirit & disposition prevailing among the people of this city, respecting the expected importation of Tea from London, we have the more Reason to believe that a determination hath been form'd to raise an opposition to it in all & every shape, either if it arrives subject to the payment of a Duty here, or if that Duty has been paid in England. Nay, we believe a strong opposition & much noise would be made if the Act of Parliam't was Repealed & no Revenue raised or to be raised from the Tea.—In a few words the Interest & Inclination of many is to prevent it if they can, and the more moderate are not immediately interested in an Opposition to their measures.

& Virtue appears

Feeble in all. We mean as to pointing out & supporting cool and Moderate Measures tending to get the Revenue Act repealed. This is the case here just now & every step is pursued & many falsehoods circulated for the purpose of interesting & warming the passions of the people upon this occasion.

The Resolves of a number of People met at the State House on the 16th Instant. you have doubtless seen,—a material one was, that the Tea should not be landed, & upon the Committees' applying to us on the 18th requesting our immediate resignation of a Commission we were not then neither are we yet invested with, we told them that if the Tea did arrive & come under our care, we must as Honest Men do our duty as well as case would Admit for the Preservation of the property committed to our care. Whether this, or a fix'd determination in them to use us very unkindly if we did not immediately resign, was the cause, we know not, but this is certain,—The proceedings of the Committee have been arbitrary & seem to have been particularly directed to make us obnoxious to the People. Conscious we are, that our conduct hath been regulated with great Integrity of Heart & as far as our Judgements would serve us, leading to peace, having those two objects principally in view, in our Answer to the Committee & the tenor of our Conduct upon this occasion, to discharge ourselves as upright Honest Men ought to do, & as much as may be to avoid doing anything which might raise a disturbance or break the peace of the City.

Your assured Friends,

10 Mo. 26th, 1773, to Pigon & Booth, London.

NEW YORK, 27th October 1773.

Sirs,—

We duly received your favour of the 23rd current. It is a singular circumstance and well worth remarking, that there should be so much more opposition to the landing of the Tea with you than with us, and it has led us to reflect upon the causes that have operated so much in

our favour. We before wrote you that the persons interested in the Smuggling Trade make a very formidable body, but their leaders are some of them Men of such detestable characters, that the Merchants despise them. and the common people avoid them; so that the excessive pains which these Men have taken to raise a dust, has had a contrary effect. To-morrow there will be a publication on our side of the question, which will set the above persons in so ridiculous a light, that it will make them the laughing stock of the whole town; we seen it in manuscript, and do confess we never saw anything so well adapted to the intellects of the common people. You shall be sure to have it by the next post.

We have just now received your favour of the 26th current. We shall carefully observe the contents and are

Sirs

Your most obed't Serv'ts

PIGON & BOOTH.

To

MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER

Merch'ts in

Philadelphia.

New York, 27th Oct., 1773, Pigon & Booth.

NEW YORK, 28th October 1773.

Sirs,—

I observe by your favor of the 26th current, that you have fallen into the same mistake that many others have done here, by supposing the duty of 3 d. per lb. on Tea will be paid in London; to clear up that point, we have caused a clause of the late Act to be reprinted in Rivington's Paper, which is inclosed; by which it will appear that the payment of all Duties on both sides of the Water, is as much suspended for the present, as if the Act was totally repealed. I propose making frequent excursions to the Hook in my own Boat till the Tea arrives; this will be one quite privately, as we steer the same course to go to my Farm. I mention this that you need not be surprised if your Letters should not be answered so punctually as heretofore. It is certainly a desirable object that I should see the Captain, with whom I am personally acquainted, even before he takes a pilot on board; for the Vessel being a Stranger, may by prudent management be anchored under the Guns of the Fort, and the Governor and ourselves may get our Letters before it is known to one other person in the City. I am, for F. Pigon & self.

Sirs,

Your most obed't Serv't

BEN BOOTH.

To

MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER

Merch'ts in

Philadelphia.

New York, 28th Oct., 1773, Pigon & Booth.

PHILADA., 29th 10th Mo. 1773.

Esteemed Friends,—

PIGON & BOOTH, New York.

We have just now received your acceptable Fav'r of 27th Instant & shall be pleased to see Virtue & true Patriotism Triumph over a bad set of Men,—Men capable of Fraud, Bribery & Perjury—Men who have made a Science of carrying on & leading others into Views so harmful to Society & destructive of true Patriotism. We have even some things wrote here, that would do honor to the Writers if the people had Ears to hear & Hearts at this time to Assent to Truth & Reason.

The rec't of the Production of your Place we shall anxiously look for & we shall pay due honor to your draft in Favour Hugh and A. Wallace.

All & Falconer are to take their Letters away the 31st Instant which engages us too closely to add at this time, but a future may point out some of the real causes of the difference between the Conduct of your Place & ours. Just to give the Clue, our Governor is hereditary, all our great Men & Affairs of government are in his Appointment independent of the Crown. Yours are not &c.

We are always your assured & Faithful Friends,

Copy of our Letter to Pigon & Booth of New York, 29th of 10 Mo., 1773.

PHILADA., 10th Mo. 29th, 1773.

Esteemed Friends,

PIGON & BOOTH, London.

Since we last wrote you respecting the Teas expected to arrive here on Acc't of the India Company,—The Fire hath been gradually kindling & at length rose to a great Heat indeed in this City, we believe far more so, from the best Accounts we can obtain, than at either New York or Boston. Several pieces published for a test in our News Papers tended to inflame the Minds of the People & afterwards, say the 16th inst., a Town Meeting was called at the State House, where several hundreds of the Inhabitants met & made the eight Resolves annexed hereto. On the 18th Instant Eleven persons out of Twelve (who were at that Meeting appointed a Committee) called on us & pursuant to the Resolve, made a preremptory demand of our immediately resigning the Agency. We in our Answer intended to preserve the Peace of the City, by making such a reply as would convince them we did not mean to receive & sell the Teas if they arrived, should it appear that it was opposed by the sensible and Judicious part of the Inhabitants generally, & therefore told them in substance that at present we were no Agents in the matter, but that if a Ship did arrive as expected & we should be concerned in the Agency, that our conduct should be open & Friendly. It seems however that our Answer was exceptionable to those Gentlemen &

they having rec'd some Answer from T. & I. Wharton, the words of which are carefully kept a profound Secret from the Public, have reported "that the Answer rec'd from us is not so Candid & explicit as that rec'd from Thos. & Isaac Wharton." This, with the unkind manner in which it was represented to the Public, has raised a clamour & subjected us to much hard Censure & abuse from many, and it does not now, while so warm a Spirit prevails, seem a proper time to open the Eyes & disabuse the people, who are thus misled for partial & invidious purposes; for it has been given out & taken for granted by many, that we will persevere in receiving & selling the Tea in opposition to the Body of the people. Which is by no means a just state of our disposition or intentions, & what we always kept in view & were determined to do upon this occasion was, that we might after we were fully acquainted with the nature of the Trust committed to our care, discharge & acquit ourselves as Men of Integrity who had to answer for their conduct at a future day. And if the Trust should be of such a nature as to make it imprudent for us to promote the Execution of it here, at least to shew our willingness & care to preserve the property from Damage or Destruction, we conceive a pretty positive declaration of ours to the Committee expressive of such intentions for the preservation of the property and not behaving as if we considered their proceedings Wise or Legal, must have been the offensive matters to them.

We did not forget that you say in yours of 27th May last, *that if we refuse to become purchasers of the Tea, the Vessels must have direction to go to Boston or elsewhere*, and have supposed Instructions would arrive with the Tea, directing the Agents in their proceedings, if the Tea should be so refused. This intimation has been kept altogether to ourselves, as had it been Bruited among the people, it might have fixed them in a determination to send it away at all Events.

A Rumour has circulated that a Ship lately arrived at New York, brings advice that the Duty payable here under the Revenue Act is to be paid with you or settled with the Treasury, since which the conversation of the Town has been handed to us as very different. Some persons now advocate the receiving of the tea & if the Revenue is raised out of it even if it is paid in England, that it ought to lay without proceeding to a Sale untill the obnoxious Act is Repealed—while others declare it should be opposed & not rec'd for two Reasons, first while the Revenue Act remains, the rec't of it will in some Measure be a submission to the Act—and another Reason which some are not ashamed to give, is that the East India Company if suffered to send their Teas here, will make a Monopoly of the Trade & effectually debar private Traders from all advantages to be derived from the importation of Tea from England as formerly—and therefore they are not for allowing the Company the same liberty & privileges of any private Traders.—At same time we are informed that others say that if the Duty is paid in England all opposition should be dropp'd. But upon the whole, things are so

unsettled & sentiments so various, that we are as yet quite uncertain what turn they will take, but are rather inclined to think that nothing less than a total Repeal of the Act for raising a Revenue in America will leave the business of the India Company respecting their Tea, in that peaceable situation we would wish to see it in.

Be the event of this matter as it may, we shall retain a grateful Sense of your Friendship to us & shall be studious to discharge ourselves therein as faithfully & uprightly as may be in the power of your assured

Respected Friends,

Original per Captain Falconer

Duplicate per All.

Oct. 29th, 1773, to Pigon & Booth, London.

[*To be continued.*]

OPENING OF IOWA YEARLY MEETING.

CHARLES F. COFFIN.

[The author of the following paper writes: "This account was written immediately after [my] return home [1863]. It has remained amongst my papers, without publication, until the present time, except that a few years since I sent a copy to Iowa Yearly Meeting to file among its archives."—EDITOR.]

Iowa Yearly Meeting was opened 9th Month 10th, 1863, at Spring Creek Meeting House about 2½ miles from Oskaloosa, in Mahaska County. Oskaloosa was then estimated to have a population of about 3,500. It was then a beautiful portion of Iowa. The farms were well enclosed and in a good state of cultivation, but the farm houses were generally small frame buildings. Friends were, however, very kind and hospitable, and more persons were accommodated in a small house than would be considered possible in the older States. A Quarterly Meeting Boarding School near the Meeting House afforded accommodation for 50 or 60 Friends, mostly from other Yearly Meetings. Many Iowa Friends came to the Yearly Meeting in their covered wagons, bringing their bedding and food with them. Some of these found shelter in unoccupied houses, others lodged in their wagons, and others in tents—about 300 Friends were thus provided for. This outdoor life was a novel and interesting fea-

ture of the occasion. The interest shown by most of these Friends which led them to make such sacrifices of personal comfort to attend the Yearly Meeting, was truly affecting.

The Yearly Meeting House, which was to be in Oskaloosa, not having been commenced, a temporary shed of rough posts placed in the ground covered and enclosed with unplanned boards, was erected adjoining the Quarterly Meeting House. This shed was 66 feet long by 50 feet wide. Raised galleries were erected, and rough benches set on the ground sufficient to seat about 750. This was occupied by men Friends, and the scene when all were convened, was truly novel and interesting—but God, who dwelleth not in temples made with hands, condescended to be present by the Holy Spirit and the voice of thanksgiving and praise was frequently heard, and seasons of reverent silent worship were greatly enjoyed by those present. The Quarterly Meeting House, 35 by 60, to which was attached a shed 15 by 60 was occupied by Women Friends, about 500 could be accommodated in the house adjoining the shed. The whole number present was from 1,200 to 1,300. Committees were present from the Yearly Meetings of New York, Baltimore, Indiana and Western, composed of 16 men and 14 women Friends. Fourteen Ministers were in attendance with minutes for religious service. David Hunt was appointed Clerk of the Men's Meeting, and Willet Dorland and Enoch Hoag Assistants. The Meeting was mostly composed of young and middle aged Friends of great energy and force of character and much religious weight existed amongst them. Those present from other Yearly Meetings were impressed with the belief that the establishment of the Yearly Meeting would prove to be a blessing to our Religious Society. The business which came before them was transacted with much good feeling, and with order and system. The question as to the location of the Yearly Meeting House was definitely settled and arrangements made to proceed with the building as soon as possible which is estimated to cost from \$15,000 to \$20,000. A plan was adopted and Friends undertook with little dissent to raise \$16,000 as soon as practicable to carry forward the work. It will require some sacrifice to enable them to furnish the means as rapidly as will be required, but they appeared to undertake it cheerfully.

The Indiana Discipline was adopted and a Meeting for Sufferings, and committees on Education, First day Schools, Books and Tracts, and people of Color were appointed. Five Quarterly Meetings form the Yearly Meeting—viz: Salem, Pleasant Plain, Red Cedar (now changed to Springdale), Bangor, and South River. A new Quarterly Meeting was set off from Pleasant Plain, called Oskaloosa, and a committee appointed to visit the Monthly Meetings of Winnesheik, in Northern Iowa, Baraboo, in Wisconsin, and Minneapolis, in Minnesota, on their request for a Quarterly Meeting. The examination of the State of Society was an interesting occasion and much right concern prevailed for the religious growth of the Society. The reports on Education showed 2,403 children between the ages of 5 and 20 amongst them. The whole number of families in the State were estimated at 1,500 and the whole number of members at 6,000 and 8,000 scattered over a wide extent of country. The Second Annual First-day School Conference of Friends in America was held during the Yearly Meeting—a large attendance of delegates from the different Yearly Meetings was present and the average attendance at the Conference was from 600 and 800. The Conference was quite satisfactory to Friends generally.

Friends in attendance at the First Yearly Meeting held in Iowa 9th Month, 1863, who were guests at the Boarding School at Spring Creek, many of whom were delegates from other Yearly Meetings to attend the opening of the Yearly Meeting, and other delegates to the second annual Conference of Teachers and in Friends First-day Schools in the United States which was held during the Yearly Meeting:

From Baltimore Yearly Meeting—John Scott, Wm. A. Thomas, Francis T. King, Deborah C. Thomas, Ann J. Matthews.

From Philadelphia Yearly Meeting—Wm. C. Longstreth, Eliza W. Hinchman (not delegates).

From New York Yearly Meeting—Jesse F. Haines (Lockport), Mary H. Thomas (Union Springs), Robert Lindley Murray (New York), Ruth S. Murray (New York), William Cromwell (New York), Lindley Murray Moore (Rochester), Esther C. Weeks (Mount Kisco), Sarah S. Murray (New York).

From New England Yearly Meeting—James Jones (Maine).

From Canada Yearly Meeting—William Wetherald.

From Indiana Yearly Meeting—Charles F. Coffin, Rhoda M. Coffin, Elijah Coffin, Jr., Luke Thomas, Harriet Steer (Cincinnati), Elgar Brown (Rainsboro, Ohio).

From Western Yearly Meeting—Nathan Elliott Thornton, Andrew B. Tomlinson, Sina Tomlinson (Bloomington), Catherine Elliott Thornton, Jesse Kersey, Andrew Wooton.

Benjamin and Jane Hollingsworth, Superintendent and Matron of the School, attended to the provisions, and their kindness and courtesy to their guests was much appreciated. The following Friends from Iowa were also guests at the School:

Barclay Hinchman, Elizabeth M. Hinchman, Sarah M. Hadley, David W. Lupton, Ann M. Lupton, Emma J. Lupton, Grace Haisley, Hannah P. Hunnicutt, Margaret P. Hunnicutt, Lydia A. Wildman, Joseph P. Haines, Sarah Jane Beckwith. (Many of these assisted in the domestic work.)

The problem of lodging and feeding these 40 to 50 persons in one not large house was a serious one, and many of the Friends found themselves in very close quarters, but the novelty and interest of the occasion was great and all enjoyed it. They did not allow the School to be their creditors, but left it in much better condition than they found it. It was not long after until the house caught fire and burned to the ground.

A SKETCH OF FARNHAM MONTHLY MEETING OF FRIENDS. PROVINCE OF QUEBEC, CANADA.

BY JOSHUA BULL.

In the winter or early spring of the year 1801, Gideon Bull, formerly of Danby, Vermont, removed with his family and settled in the eastern part of the Township of Farnham, in the Province of Lower Canada, as it was then called, now the Province of Quebec. His eldest son, Aaron Bull, was then a boy twelve years of age. At that time this part of the country was a "howling wilderness," the land being covered with a dense forest of heavy timber, and the settlers were few and far between. Probably all the families then living within the limits of what now constitutes the Town-

ship of East Farnham could have been counted on the fingers of one hand. Necessarily those pioneer settlers had to endure much hardship, and many privations. Even after they had made an opening in the forests by clearing away the timber so as to be able to raise a little corn and other grain, the nearest mill where they could get it ground was fifteen miles distant, and the only road was a trail through the forest, indicated by marked trees. As they had to take their grain on horse-back and follow this trail through the woods, it required two, and sometimes three days to go to mill, get a bag of corn ground into meal, and return home.

Wild game was plentiful in this primeval forest, and during the fall and winter months year by year Aaron Bull used to spend much of his time in hunting fur-bearing animals, and the proceeds of the sale of the furs thus obtained contributed very materially to increase his little revenue wherewith to pay needful expenses. On one occasion when out hunting he missed his course and was obliged to spend the night in the woods; but being a firm believer in God's overruling providence in the affairs of life, he accepted the incident as providential and became convinced in his mind that the place whereon he was camping should be his future home. This eventually proved to be the case. He always fully believed in the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of men to guide and direct according to the will of God, if His voice is carefully listened to, and His leadings followed. In after years he used frequently to rehearse to his children the story of his early religious experience, and his belief that it was the leading of the Holy Spirit that inclined him to unite with the Society of Friends, when at that time there was no Friend in that part of the country; and no Friends' Meeting nearer than Ferrisburg, Vermont, about eighty miles distant. So strong, however, were his convictions that he made request and was received as a member of Ferrisburg Monthly Meeting, and thus became the first member of the Society of Friends in that part of Canada.

In 1814 he married Philadelphia Knowles, who was also a member; he bought the land and built a log-house in the same place where he had once "camped" all night when lost in the woods years before, as related above, and this became their

home through the remainder of their lives, and formed the nucleus of Farnham Monthly Meeting. Both of them being of a hospitable disposition their house was always open to any and all who were in need of food or shelter. They raised a family of seven children, four boys and three girls, all of whom were lifelong members with Friends, (two of whom are still living). Aaron Bull had two brothers and three sisters, all of whom joined Friends. Meanwhile, some families of Friends came in from the New England States and settled. In 1822 a Preparative Meeting was set up to be held once in three months under the care of a committee. In 1826 this became a fully established Preparative Meeting, subordinate to Ferrisburg Monthly Meeting. In those days they had no regular meeting house, but held their meetings sometimes in one place, and sometimes in another, as circumstances might render it convenient or necessary, but usually in some house vacated for the time being.

Aaron Barton, a member although not recorded a minister, would some times give utterance to language which seemed almost prophetic. On one occasion when Friends were gathered in their meeting and sitting in silence, he arose and solemnly spoke somewhat as follows, "Friends, I feel impressed that something startling will soon come to pass that will make a great stir among us, for I seem to hear a great snapping and cracking right here where I stand." And before the next meeting day the house wherein they were sitting was burned to the ground. In 1834 a committee was appointed to select a location and purchase land on which to build a meeting-house; and Aaron Bull was appointed Trustee to receive and hold a deed thereof in trust for the Society, which office he continued to hold until the time of his death, in 1875. A frame meeting-house, 30 x 36 feet was built in 1835, and this was the first house built in the Township of East Farnham for the special purpose of public worship. The Society of Friends was at that time the strongest and the most influential religious organization in the Township, and no doubt largely influenced the government and management of its public affairs. It has always been a "Temperance Town;" there has never been a licensed saloon for the sale of intoxicating liquors within its borders unto this present day (1908).

In the early days of Farnham Meeting "Traveling Ministers" from other and distant parts frequently visited the Meeting in gospel service, a custom that has become mostly obsolete in these later days, we fear greatly to the loss and detriment of the welfare of our Church. The writer can distinctly recall with much satisfaction some of those messengers of God which visited East Farnham in the days of his boyhood, some sixty and seventy years ago; how my heart used to "burn within me" while I listened to their Gospel messages and goodly counsels and advice. Among the many who visited us in Gospel service in early days were Joseph Hoag of Vermont, famous for his vision, Joseph John Gurney, from England, Lindley Murray Hoag, and Eli Jessup, from Iowa. As a boy I used to be much interested in those "Traveling Ministers," not only in hearing them preach, but also hearing them tell in a conversational way incidents of their experience. One little story which Joseph Hoag seemed to take pleasure in telling was, in substance, as follows:

"When traveling in religious service among the Indians; on one occasion being hungry, he stopped at an Indian home to get something to eat. The Squaw mistress of the wigwam prepared for him the best she had at her command, although it was rather coarse and rudely prepared. When ready, she told him that she had provided for him the best that she had, and if he was a good man he would eat it and be satisfied; but if he was not a good man, it was good enough for him." This Indian woman's idea of the fitness of things greatly pleased "Uncle Joseph," as we familiarly called him. The occasional visits of these servants of God had a wholesome and salutary effect, not only upon our membership, but on the community at large. When public notice was given out that a "Traveling Minister" was expected to be present at the Friends' Meeting on a set day, it was sure to bring out a large number of people to hear him.

In 1840 a Monthly Meeting was set up under the care of a committee of Ferrisburg Monthly Meeting, and in 1842 it was fully established as Farnham Monthly Meeting, subordinate to Ferrisburg Quarterly Meeting, belonging to New York Yearly Meeting. The outlook for the future seemed very encouraging, and for a while the Meeting appeared to be prosperous. At one

time there were seven recorded ministers resident in East Farnham, viz.: Charles Taber, David E. Knowles, Drusilla Knowles, David F. Knowles, Jemima Knowles, Anna Bassett and Sarah Stevens. Charles Taber sat at the head of the meeting until the time of his death, which occurred in 1853, at the age of 70 years. He seemed to have a genuine pastoral gift to care for the flock. It does not appear that the Friends in East Farnham were in any degree affected by the separation of 1827-8; but the "Wilburite" division which followed in the "forties" rent our meeting in twain, and materially reduced our membership. The Meeting never fully recovered from the shock, although some of those who separated from us at the first, reunited with us in later years.

About 1850 it was decided to hold the Quarterly Meeting once a year in East Farnham, in Tenth Month. This arrangement was much appreciated by the members resident here, and the event was looked forward to year by year as a time of refreshing. Usually there would be quite a large number of Friends from Vermont in attendance, and visiting ministers from other parts were generally expected to be present on such occasions with a fresh gospel message to cheer and encourage. Many of the neighbors who belonged to other churches seemed to take just as much interest in attending Friends' Quarterly Meetings as though they were in membership with us. On all such occasions Friends freely opened their houses and vied one with another in entertaining all who attended the Quarterly Meeting. In 1870 the old meeting-house was taken down and reconstructed and enlarged, and made more modern and convenient.

The lapse of time has brought its changes; the old pioneer Friends have long since passed away and gone to their rest and reward, and many of their successors have also followed them; others who might have maintained the Meeting, had they remained here, have removed to other parts: thus the membership became so much reduced that the Monthly Meeting was discontinued and laid down by the Quarterly Meeting in 1903. At the present writing (1908) there are but four surviving members living within the township of East Farnham, and their ages range from 75 to 90 years. Thus the first and only Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends that ever had an existence in the Province of Quebec, is now a thing of the past.

Although the meeting is discontinued, yet we hopefully trust that its influence for good is not entirely gone, nor its fruitage lost; for there are some who were born and grew up here as members of this meeting that have gone forth into other parts, and are making themselves useful members of society in the capacity of ministers, doctors, teachers, etc.

There are three burying grounds in East Farnham belonging to Friends. One a private, or family ground; this was some years ago deeded over to a board of three Trustees appointed by the Judge of the "Court of King's Bench," by request of those interested therein. Of the other two, one was a public ground, in use before any meeting-house was built, and the third was a part of the meeting-house lot. After the Monthly Meeting had been laid down, and by and with the consent and approval of Ferrisburg Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, and the concurrence of New York Yearly Meeting, the meeting-house and the two last mentioned burying grounds were deeded to a board of five Trustees of an association organized for the purpose of taking charge of and caring for the same, and chartered according to the requirements of the laws of the Province of Quebec, under the name of "The Friends' Church Cemetery Association," (although none of the Trustees are members of the Friends' Church) with a proviso that the meeting-house may be sold, and removed, not to be occupied on its present location, and the proceeds of such sale to be deposited in a chartered bank for safe keeping, and used from time to time as may be required for the purpose of keeping the burying grounds in proper order and repair.

East Farnham, Province of Quebec, Canada.

A VISIT TO EAST FARNHAM, CANADA, IN 1830.

ROWLAND GREENE.

[In connection with the preceding paper the following extract from an unpublished letter and Journal will be of interest. The writer was Dr. Rowland Greene, of Cranston, Rhode Island (1770-1859). He was a minister, and, in his day, one of the most prominent members of New England Yearly Meeting. Several volumes of his unpublished Journals (1795-1857) are in existence.—Editor.]

Journal—"7th Mo. 16th [1830]. Left Barton and proceeded north through Brownington [Vermont] to E. Davis' Inn and dined. The roads were good, and soon after leaving Barton the country assumed a richer, handsomer form and better cultivated. From thence we rode to Georgeville on Lake Memphismagog [sic] and staid at Charnel's Inn. We entered this Province [Lower Canada] about 3 o'clock this afternoon; soon after passing the lines we enquired of an intelligent farmer whether we were in Canada; he pointed to a long red store which we had just passed, and said one end of it was in the United States and the other in Canada, with a horse shed between them. Upon asking him in a pleasant mood, what was necessary for us to do—whether it was necessary we should report ourselves—he said, "Oh, no! If you have brought nothing to sell." I told him we had nothing to dispose of but Gospel love and good will to the people. He raised his eyes upon us, and in a serious manner said, "God prosper you in your undertaking," and kindly invited us to go home with him and spend the night. But as we had time to reach Georgeville by sunset we pursued our journey. The country as we entered the Province in the township of Candish is very handsome, and of rich soil. In many places it is well cultivated and populous. Their grass, wheat, corn, and potatoes are fine. No cultivated fruit that we noticed except apples and currants; of the former some trees were full.

7th Mo. 17th, and 7th of the week. We crossed Lake Memphismagog [sic]—the morning was delightful and the waters

smooth which we pleasantly passed over in a two-horse boat. Our ride after this was over a high mountain, the roads exceedingly out of order, for seven or eight miles mostly through woods. We stopped at a kind of public house, just after passing through the woods where we found kind attention, but limited provision. About sunset we reached Gideon Bull's, his family but not himself, are members with Friends. Here we staid the 7th Mo. 18th and 1st of the week. This morning we rode to George Hall's, 4 miles, and attended their meeting; some notice being given, it was well attended, and a precious season. At the close of it seemed proper to appoint another at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. There are about 30 families of Friends belonging to this Meeting who live within a few miles of each other, and is the only established Meeting of Friends in Lower Canada.....
 "7th Mo. 19th, 20th, and 21st till noon. Visited all the families belonging to Farnham Meeting, except two living about 16 miles out of the neighborhood, to the relief and encouragement of my mind. And in the afternoon of the 21st rode to St. Amonds and staid the night at a public house."

From a letter to his wife.

"Peru, at Geo. Irish's, 7th mo. 24th, 1830.

....Regarding our visit to the families of Friends in Lower Canada, I would observe that we had no prospect of such a service till approaching the neighborhood, when it gently passed before the view of my mind, without remaining long in thought, or exciting much concern. But there was something like a sweet savor which it left on the mind. And next day, being now with Friends, First-day, it again and again was revived with exceeding weight and became a subject of my serious concern. After the morning meeting, which was satisfactory, I mentioned this subject to my companion [J. N. Fay] and he uniting therewith, it was laid before the select members, which met their full approval. One of their ministers said that she had recently told her husband that she believed that such a visit would be soon performed among them, by whom she then knew not.

Next morning we commenced the family visits, having Charles Tabor for pilot, and in two days and a half visited the

families belonging to the Monthly Meeting, consisting of about thirty, and live pretty near the meeting-house. Their settlement is new—the members are mostly youngerly Friends with growing families—and live in log houses, pretty near to each other in what they call an opening, that is a number of acres cleared of the timber in the midst of a mighty forest. The soil is deep and good—the land pretty level, and the timber of great growth, consisting of Hemlocks, Pines, Ash, Elms, Mapple, Beach, etc. In passing through the woods, an Elm, from its grand appearance, attracted our attention. It was the judgment of Charles Tabor and James N. Fay, that it extended 80 feet before it sent out a limb—and at that point it was thought to be 2 feet or more through, and of a light ash color. It was one of the wonders of the forest.

To our feelings it was very interesting to visit those dear Friends in their families and their remote and sequestered situations and particularly to find them under the tuition of the blessed Truth, speaking its language and showing forth its praise gratefully evincing that godliness with contentment is great gain. Their children appeared promising.”....

A QUAIN REPORT.

To the Woomen Ffriends of the Quarterly Meeting at Banbury.

Deare Friends,—It so hapens that none of us from Henly this yeer can conveniently attend the service of this Meeting. These cums to let you understand, that wee are in unity. Our week days Meetings are duly kept up. Our Poore are taken care of. Wee hope Truth prospers amongst us. And whear any thing is known to be a miss care is taken for amendent. This with the salutation of our Dear Loves, wee remaine your Ffriends in the Truth.

Judith Grimsdall.

Lidia Toovey.

Henly the 24th, 4th mo. 1726.

[Armistead's Select Miscellanies, II.]

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THOMAS BOWNE.—A descendant of John Bowne writes, under date of "July 8, 1908," regarding the paper on "John Bowne of Flushing," in the last number of THE BULLETIN: "The article on John Bowne I have greatly enjoyed....I would like to speak of one little thing, however, Thomas Bowne, John Bowne's father, had a nice little estate in England—the name has gone from me, but they had means, I am sure, as old letters speak of this property. John Bowne wished to perfect himself in some work, and thus took the position with Mr. Philips. Many young men of that day, even of good families, served an apprenticeship—they were not servants."

BOOKS BY FRIENDS.—An unusually large number of books by or about Friends have appeared in 1908, among them are "John Stephenson Rowntree, His Life and Work"; "Aaron's Breastplate and other Addresses," by J. Rendel Harris; "Light Arising," by Caroline E. Stephen; "Authority and the Light Within," by Edward Grubb; "The Story of Quakerism," by Elizabeth B. Emmott; all published by Headley Brothers, London; "Union with God in Thought and Faith," by David Scull, edited by Joseph Elkinton, George A. Bar-

ton and Rufus M. Jones, with a biographical sketch by the latter, The John C. Winston Co., Philadelphia; "Ecclesiastes," in the International Critical Commentary Series, by Dr. George A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr, Pa. New York Scribners.

Of the above, three at least call for special mention. John Stephenson Rowntree, of York, England, as a young man of twenty-four, was the winner of the first prize of one hundred guineas offered in 1858 by an anonymous gentleman for the best essay accounting for the decline in the Society of Friends. The essay "Quakerism, Past and Present," was a sympathetic, able presentation of the condition of Friends in the middle of the nineteenth century, and of the causes which led to that condition. No one, before or since, has given a better survey of the subject. The essay remains a standard authority on the history of the Society. It is difficult to overestimate the influence of this little book on the Society in England, and indirectly in America also. Its truthfulness, its force, its honesty, its simplicity carried conviction and led to action. His life was an honor to the Society, to his friends, and to the city in which he lived. His biography and the accompanying addresses are of great value.

"The Story of Quakerism," by Elizabeth B. Emmott, is a successful effort to give the main facts of the history of Friends in a popular, attractive form. No attempt has been made to go fully into details, as the book is not intended for the scholar or historian. Written for English readers, the history of Friends in America is not specially dwelt upon, and needs correction in some places. The illustrations are, in general, good and add to the value of the text.

The author, a daughter of the late Joseph Bevan Braithwaite, is to be commended for her skill in making an interesting volume.

The third book is of a very different character—the "Commentary on Ecclesiastes," by Dr. George A. Barton,* of Bryn Mawr. Such a scholarly work does honor to the Society, and no volume of the same character has ever before been published by a Friend. The scholarly work of J. Tindale Harris on John is of a somewhat different nature, while the brilliant work of J. Rendel Harris lies in another field. The series is intended primarily for scholars understanding Hebrew, Greek, and other Oriental languages, and is in no sense popular. The *Expository Times* says of the book, "Dr. Barton's knowledge of Ecclesiastes and its literature is full to overflowing, and his sound judgment and good sense will appeal to every student and thoughtful reader. The volume is worthy of its place in the 'International Critical Commentary Series,' and one lays it down with the feeling

that one has been in the company of an able, conscientious and trustworthy guide."

*NOTE.—Dr. Barton was, in his youth, a member of Farnham Meeting, described in another article of this number.

ENTIRELY NEW EDITION OF THE JOURNAL OF GEORGE FOX.—All readers of THE BULLETIN will be interested in knowing that a new edition of George Fox's Journal printed from the original manuscript is soon to be an accomplished fact. The MSS. which belong to Robert Spence, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, were, a year or two ago, deposited by him, on loan, in the library at Devonshire House, London. About the middle of the last century, each separate leaf was mounted and the whole bound in two large octavo volumes. The work was carefully done, and has been helpful in preserving the MSS. in good order. As is well known, there are many differences between the MS. and even the first edition of 1694, though few, if any, changes were made which altered the essential features of the Journal. The new edition will give the Journal for the first time exactly as it was dictated by George Fox. "When the edition appears it will not only contain the whole Journal, but also a number of other documents closely connected, among which may be mentioned a full account of the American journey of 1671-1673, now to be printed for the first time. In addition there will be a number of photogravure

plates of representative pages of the MSS." That the work will be carefully and thoroughly edited is assured by the fact that T. Edmund Harvey and Norman Penney are the editors. It will be published by the Cambridge (England) University Press. It will be a number of months before the book will be ready.

"THE QUAKER BOY AT SCHOOL."

—A too brief account of life at Westtown School, and the carrying out there of the ideal of a "guarded religious education," written by President Isaac Sharpless, of Haverford College, appears in *The Independent* for September 3, 1908, and will be reprinted in book form by the Bidle Press, later.

"BENJAMIN WEST NOT A QUAKER."—Charles Henry Hart, of Philadelphia, contributes a paper under the above title to the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for January, 1908. Fifty copies of which have been reprinted. The author says, "John Galt, who was the official biographer of West, was a romance writer and not a historian; consequently he coined many pretty fictions that have taken root and spread by being served up by all subsequent writers, so that now it is impossible to top them off and eradicate them, although mere romances." C. H. Hart says of the father of Benjamin West and his two brothers, "They were

birthright members of the Society of Friends, but John, the father of Benjamin came to this country *without a certificate of transfer*, which shows he was not in good standing with Friends when he left England.... John West, born in 1690, arrived in Pennsylvania *circa* 1715.... John West was not a Quaker when he settled in Pennsylvania.... and he did not become a member of that sect until late in life. He married, in Chester County, Sarah, daughter of Thomas Pearson, who came from England with William Penn. She too was a birthright member of the Society of Friends, but for some indiscretions, prejudicial to the well-being of Friends, was disowned, or read out of meeting, so that this marriage was not accomplished according to the good order of the Society of Friends, and the children of John and Sarah West, credited to number ten, were therefore *not Quakers*. This is the reason we do not know their names; otherwise they would be upon the records of meeting.... Sarah West, the mother, died in 1756.... and it was not until three years later that John West, the father.... joined meeting."

It may be remarked in connection with the above extracts, that the statements regarding birthright membership need qualification. So far as appears, birthright membership was not recognized officially by Friends until 1737; therefore it will hardly do to speak of John West and his wife, and his brothers, as being "birthright members."

JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The number for Seventh month, 1908, as usual, contains much of interest. The "Documents from the Paris National Archives," relating to Stephen Grellet, are concluded. The paper, "Friends in Mansfield," throws much light on the ways of Friends in the 17th century. The instructions issued to the first "Women's" Quarterly Meeting for Nottinghamshire, "20th day of 7th month, 1671," are specially quaint.

THE QUAKER IN THE FORUM.—*"Mrs. Amelia M. Gummere, well known to Philadelphians as the wife of Prof. Francis B. Gummere of Haverford College, and as the author of several valuable works on the history of Quakerism, has just placed in the hands of the John C. Winston Company the manuscript of a new book on 'The Quaker in the Forum.' This work, which will be ready about the first of the year, traces the history of the part which members of the Society of Friends have played and their great influence on the political and social life of their times."*—*New York Times Saturday Review*, October 31, 1908.

LOVE.—By Martin Mason, written about 1662.

LOVE is a vertue that endures for ever,

A link of matchless jewels none can sever.

Had I the tongue of men and Angels too,

If Love were wanting what good could I do?

Love far surmounts all earthly Diadems,

Though deckt with pearls, with rubies and with jems;

Love is the life of all things under th' sun,

Love must the Lawrel wear, when all is done.

Love's eye is tender, Love does gently draw

The mind to God, without a penal Law.

Love thinks no ill, Love never did invent,

Fines, præmunire, Goals nor Banishment

For Innocents, Love hath no spleen nor Gall,

Love's like the Royal Sun; Love shines on All.

The above lines on Love are a specimen of the verses occasionally to be found in the writings of Friends of the 17th century.—There is scarcely a doubt that they are by Martin Mason, and they occur at the end of a short tract entitled "An Expostulation with the Bishops in England Concerning their Jurisdiction over the People of God called Quakers," etc. Dated, "The 5th of the 7th Month [September] 1662." Very little is known of this Friend. "Sewel is entirely silent, and so is Joseph Besse, though he suffered a good deal of imprisonment in Lincoln City Gaol. I find he was one concerned in the schism caused by John Perrot, about taking off the Hat in time of prayer; and he seems to have had some tender feelings towards him, as he wrote some verses to his memory." Joseph Smith. *Catalogue of Friends' Books*, vol. 2: 152.

INDEX

BULLETIN OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL
SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.

Vols. I and 2.

1906—1908.

NOTE.

Figures without any prefix refer to volume 1; figures preceded by II refer to volume 2.

"Aaron's Breastplate," etc. II, 122

Allen, Mary S. II, 32

Amsterdam, Directors of West India Company, and Religious Freedom. II, 49, 52

Annual Meeting, etc., 1908. II, 32, 34

Baily, Joshua L. 23, 35

Barclay, David. 13-15, 20, 21

Barton, George A. II, 123

Binns, Henry Bryan. II, 23

Bowne, Elizabeth. II, 61

Bowne, Hannah. II, 45-66

Bowne, Hannah, Jr. II, 66

Bowne, Thomas. II, 45, 61, 122

Bowne, John. II, 44-67, 79, 82

Braddock, General Edward. 6

Bradford, William. II, 76

Brocksupp, Joan. II, 56

Brocksupp, Thomas. II, 56

Bull, Joshua. II, 113

Bunyan, John. II, 80, 81

Burling, William or Thomas. II, 31

Calvert, Giles. II, 74

Canada, Province of Quebec, Friends in. II, 113, 119

Caton, William. II, 50

Charles II and Release of Friends. II, 79

Chess Party, An International. 3-22

Coddington Graveyard. 76

Coddington, William. 88, II, 12-13

Coddington, Anne. 88, II, 13

Coffin, Charles F. II, 2-11, 110

Coffin, Elijah. II, 24

Collinson, Peter. 5

Constitution and By Laws. 38

Cook, Arthur II, 71

Cossinet, Francis. II, 75

Davis, Timothy. 91, 115

Dickinson, John. 35, 36, 76

Drinker, Henry. II, 26, 86

Dyer, Mary. II, 30

Early Friends, Their Parentage. II, 78

East Farnham, P. Q. Canada, A visit to, 1830. II, 119

"Ecclesiastes," Barton's. II, 123

Elson, John. II, 59

Emmott, Elizabeth B. II, 123

Erratic Spelling. II, 81

Exiles in Virginia. II, 25

Fable of The Cat and the Eagle. 18

Farnham Monthly Meeting. II, 113

Five Years' Meeting. II, 28

Fixed Prices. II, 29

Fletcher, Colonel. II, 18

Ford, Philip. II, 17-19

Fothergill, John. 3-22

Fox, George, at Flushing. II, 57

Fox, The George, Lot, 89

Fox, George and Lewis Morris II, 79

"Fox, George, Journal of," New Edition. II, 123

Franklin, Benjamin. 3-22

Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia. 1

Friends in Maine, 18th Century. 112, 113-116

Friends' Meeting, Faneuil Hall. II, 30

Friends' Meeting, Harvard College. II, 31

Grant, Mrs. Colquhoun. II, 23

Greene, Rowland. II, 119

- Gummere, Amelia M. 3-22, II, 125
 Hancock, John. 120
 Harris, J. Rendel. II, 122
 Hart, Charles Henry. II, 124
 Haverford College. II, 29
 Hilton, John. II, 15
 Hinchman, Lydia S. 49
 Hobbs, Mary M. 92-112
 Hodgson, Anna. 56-60
 Hodgson, Robert. II, 46
 Hodgson, John. II, 48
 Hunt, Nathan. 92-112, II, 15
 Hooton, Elizabeth. II, 52, 56
 Hornor, Bartholomew. II, 54
 Hornor, Thomas. II, 53
 Howe, Mrs. 15-17
 Howe, Lord. 16-17, 18
 Howland, George. 105
 Hubbard, Jeremiah. 105
 Hull, Henry. 91
 Huntingdon, Lady. 19, 20
 Indiana Yearly Meeting. II, 2-8
 International Chess Party. 3-22
 Inter-Yearly Meeting Correspondence, 18th century. II, 68
 Iowa Yearly Meeting, Opening of. II, 110
 Jenkins, H. M. 89
Journal Friends' Historical Society. II, 81, 125
 Keith, George. II, 18, 19
 Larner, William. II, 75
 Last Day of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1813. II, 82-84
Lincoln, Abraham. II, 23
 Lloyd, Thomas. II, 17-19, 71
 "Love," by Martin Mason. II, 125
 Maine, Friends in. 112-116
 Mason, Martin. II, 125
 Mather, Cotton, and W. Penn. 89
 Members, List of. 41, 121, II, 35
 Morris, Lewis. II, 78
 Will of, II, 78
 Sketch of, II, 79
 Estate of, II, 79
 and George Fox, II, 79
 Nantucket. 49-55
 New Garden Boarding School. 105
 New York, Early Friends in. II, 44-67
 Norton, Roger. II, 75
 Notes and Queries. 35, 76, 88
 II, 28, 78, 122
 Ohio Yearly Meeting. 117-119
 Osborne, Hannah R. 108
 Parentage of Early Friends. II, 78
Pease, Edward, Diary. II, 20
 Pemberton, Israel. II, 25-27
 Pemberton, James. 10, 11, 12, 36
 II 27
 Pemberton, John. II, 25-27
 Penn, John. 8
 Penn, William. II, 18, 23, 78
 Penn, William, and C. Mather. 89
 Pennsylvania Episode, A. 70-74
 Philadelphia Counterpart of Boston Tea Party. II, 86
 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Epistle, 1749. II, 69
 Pleasants, Robert. II, 26
 Pleasants, Samuel. II, 27
 Plomer, Henry R. II, 73
 Pre-revolutionary Customs. 90
 Profession of Faith, Pa. Assembly. II, 30
"Quaker Boy at School." II, 124
Quaker & Courtier W. Penn. II, 23
 Quaker Marriages in New York, 17th Century. II, 82
 Quaker Printers, etc. in 17th Century. II, 73-77
 Quaker Records. II, 81
"Quakerism, The Story of." II, 123
 Redemptioners. 77
 Richmond, Indiana. II, 3
 Rhode Island Records. 56-60
Rowntree, John Stephenson. II, 122
 Rotch, William. 49-55, 120
 Sands, David. 112, 115

| | | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|-----------|
| Scots College at Paris. | II, 29, 78 | Whitewater Monthly Meeting, | II, 2 |
| Sewel, William. | II, 76n | Whittier Centenary. | II, 29 |
| Sharpless, Isaac. | I, 70-74, II, 124 | Willis, Henry and John Bowne. | II, 82 |
| Sheppard, Catharine P. | III | Wilson, Robert. | II, 77 |
| Simmons, Thomas. | II, 75 | Wing, Joseph Jr. | 113-116 |
| Sowle, Andrew. | II, 75, 76 | Women Printers and Publishers | II, 75n |
| Sowle, Tace. | II, 76 | in 17th century. | II, 75n |
| Spelling, Erratic. | II, 81 | Woolman, John. | 98, 99 |
| Stamp Act. | 9, 10, II, 86 | Yarnall, Charles. | II, 44-67 |
| Stuyvesant, Peter. | II, 46, 53n | Yarnall, Peter. | 78 |
| Taylor, Thomas B. | II, 86 | Zins-Penninck, Judith. | II, 76 |
| Tea Party, Philadelphia. | II, 86 | | |
| Temperance Cause among Friends | | | |
| of Philadelphia. | 23-35, 75 | | |
| Thomas, Allen C., Editor. | 88 | | |
| Virginia Yearly Meeting Epistle, | | | |
| 1748. | II, 68 | | |
| Warwick, William. | II, 76 | | |
| Wayte, Thomas. | II, 76, 77 | | |
| "West, Benjamin, not a Quaker." | | | |
| | II, 124 | | |
| Western Yearly Meeting. | II, 9-11 | | |
| Wharton, Thomas. | II, 25-27 | | |
| White, John. | II, 77 | | |
| Whitehead, George. | II, 19, 71-73 | | |
| and Pardon of Friends. | II, 80 | | |

ILLUSTRATIONS.

| | |
|-------------------------------|--------|
| Fothergill, Dr. John. | 3 |
| Rotch, William. | 49 |
| Hunt, Nathan. | 87 |
| Coffin, Elijah. | II, 1 |
| Indiana Yearly Meeting, 1844. | II, 5 |
| Residence of Nathan Hunt. | II, 15 |
| Old Bowne House, | II, 43 |
| Flushing Oaks, etc. | II, 57 |

ERRATA.

- I, 49, line 8, for *Hitchman* read *Hinchman*.
 II, 52, line 5, for *Leddia* read *Leddra*.
 II, 71, line 2, for 1690 read 1691.
 II, 77, line 18, for *Smead* read *Snead*.
 II, 78, line 4 from bottom, for *Scotch* read *Scots*.
 II, 79, line 11, for *Bessie's* read *Besse's*.

BULLETIN OF

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OF

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VOLUMES I—II

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Contents.

VOLUME I.

| | | |
|---|------------------------|-----|
| Introduction | Isaac Sharpless. | 1 |
| An International Chess Party..... | Amelia M. Gummere. | 3 |
| Progress of the Temperance Cause Among Friends of Philadelphia..... | Joshua L. Baily. | 23 |
| Notes and Queries..... | 35, 76, 88, II, 28, | 78 |
| Constitution and By-Laws..... | | 38 |
| Officers and List of Members..... | 41, 121, II, | 34 |
| William Rotch and the Neutrality of Nantucket During the Revolutionary War..... | Lydia S. Hinchman. | 49 |
| Some Rhode Island Records..... | Anna Hodgson. | 56 |
| Pennsbury..... | Samuel C. Eastburn. | 61 |
| A Correction..... | Joshua L. Baily. | 75 |
| Editorial Note | Allen C. Thomas. | 88 |
| Nathan Hunt and His Times..... | Mary Mendenhall Hobbs. | 92 |
| David Sands in Maine, 1779, 1795..... | | 112 |
| Letters from Joseph Wing, 1796, 1798..... | M. G. S. | 113 |
| Setting Up of Ohio Yearly Meeting, 1812..... | | 117 |
| William Rotch and John Hancock..... | | 120 |

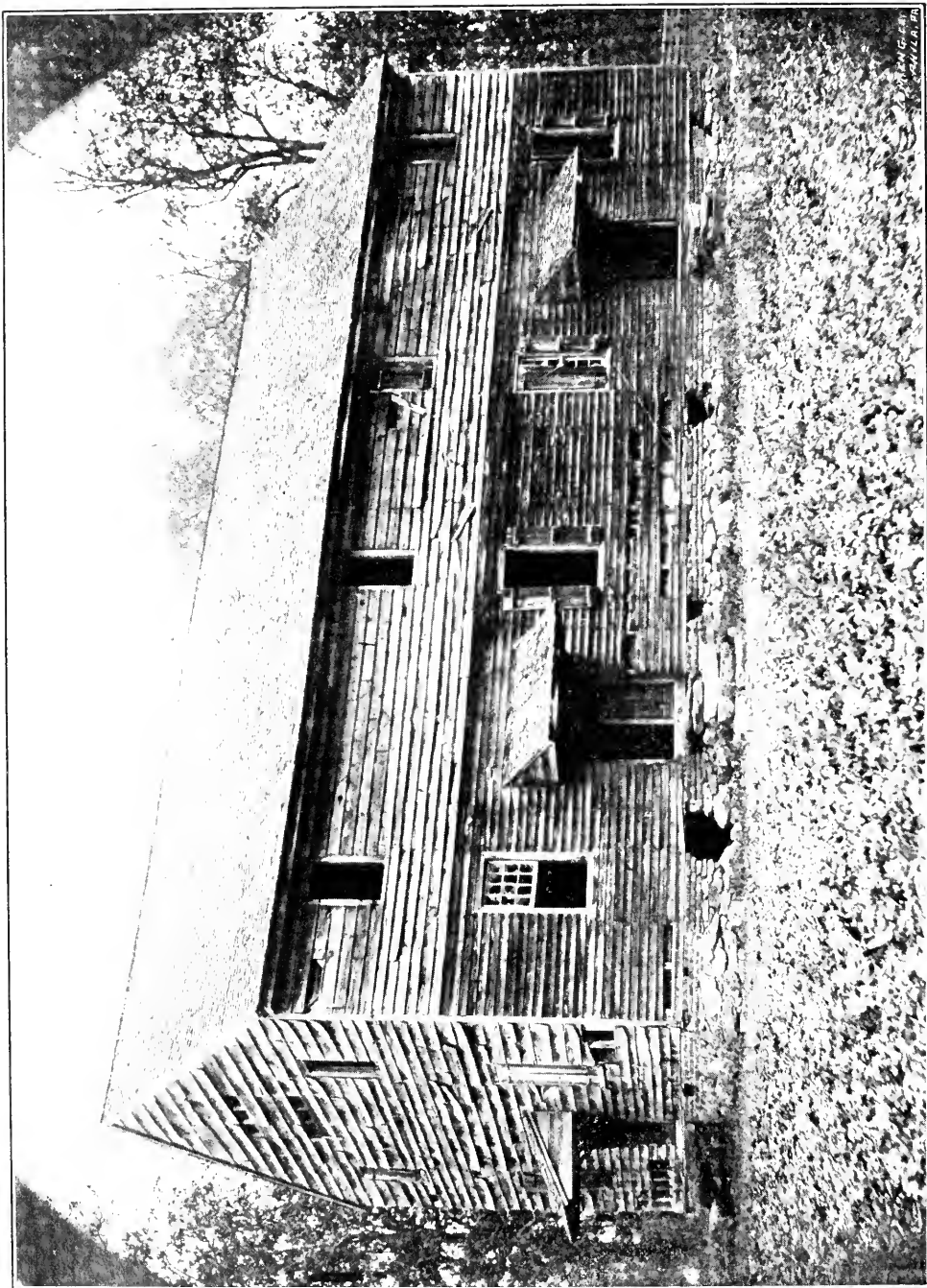
VOLUME II.

| | | |
|--|--------------------|----|
| Indiana Yearly Meeting..... | Charles F. Coffin. | 2 |
| Whitewater Monthly Meeting. | | |
| First Yearly Meeting in Indiana. | | |
| Establishment of Western Yearly Meeting.. | Charles F. Coffin. | 9 |
| Family of William Coddington..... | Amelia M. Gummere. | 12 |
| Anecdotes of Nathan Hunt..... | John Hilton. | 15 |
| Letter of Thomas Lloyd to Philip Ford, 1643..... | | 17 |

| | |
|---|---------------------|
| Book Notices | 20 |
| Diaries of Edward Pease. | |
| Quaker and Cavalier, William Penn. | |
| Abraham Lincoln. | |
| Elijah Coffin | 24 |
| Exiles in Virginia, 1777..... | 25 |
| Annual Meeting, 1908..... | Mary S. Allen. 32 |
| John Bowne of Flushing..... | Charles Yarnall. 44 |
| Inter-Yearly Meeting Correspondence in the Eighteenth Century | 68 |
| Letter of George Whitehead to Thomas Lloyd and Arthur Cook, 1691 | 71 |
| Quaker Printers and Booksellers in the Seventeenth Century. | |
| Allen C. Thomas. | 73 |
| The Philadelphia Counterpart of the Boston Tea Party, illustrated by the Correspondence of James & Drinker, Part I. Thomas B. Taylor..... | 86 |
| Opening of Iowa Yearly Meeting. Charles F. Coffin..... | 110 |
| A Sketch of Farnham Monthly Meeting of Friends, Province of Quebec, Canada. Joshua Bull..... | 113 |
| A Visit to East Farnham, Canada, in 1830. Rowland Greene | 119 |
| Notes and Queries..... | 122 |
| Index to Volumes I and II..... | 126 |

ILLUSTRATIONS.

| | |
|--|----------|
| John Fothergill | Facing 3 |
| William Rotch | “ 49 |
| Nathan Hunt | “ 88 |
| Elijah Coffin | “ II, 1 |
| Indiana Yearly Meeting, 1844..... | “ 5 |
| Residence of Nathan Hunt..... | “ 15 |
| “Old Bowne House,” 1906..... | “ 43 |
| Flushing Oaks and “Old Bowne House,” about 1850. “ | 57 |



UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARY

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia

Contents

| | |
|--|----|
| Frontispiece, The First North Carolina Meeting House | |
| History of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Julia S. White | 2 |
| Colonel William Byrd and the Quakers..... | 15 |
| Quakers in North Carolina, 1703..... | 18 |
| The Philadelphia Counterpart of the Boston Tea Party, as shown in the Letters of James & Drinker, Thomas B. Taylor, Part II, Conclusion | 21 |
| Illustrations—"The London Coffee House," "Broad- side," "To the Delaware Pilots." | |
| Notes and Queries: | |
| Quaker Membership of Benjamin West—A Book for a Rainy Day—Membership in the Society of Friends —Hannah Feake—A Quaker Marriage, 1817—Will of Benjamin Clapp—Will of Hugh Cowperthwaite —"Early History of New Jersey," Tanner..... | 50 |
| Annual Meeting | 55 |

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HISTORY OF NORTH CAROLINA YEARLY MEETING.

JULIA S. WHITE.

North Carolina Yearly Meeting occupies rather a unique position among the American Yearly Meetings. Situated as it is in a section of the country in which slavery was for so long a paramount issue, and lying as it does too far south to be much influenced by the modern currents of population, there has resulted from these two causes a sort of provincialism among North Carolina Friends, which characterizes them wherever they go and which has made their history in many respects unlike that of any other Yearly Meeting on the continent.

For the same causes Friends of North Carolina have had their individual problems. To be sure Baltimore Yearly Meeting is not far distant, but it is largely made up of an urban membership, while in Carolina Friends have always been, and still are, of the sturdy yeoman class. But with this great diversity in constituency there has been no lack of co-operation and help on the part of Baltimore; for with the work of the Baltimore Association in North Carolina immediately after the war between the States, the readers of this article are thoroughly familiar in the graphic account which Allen Jay has given in his autobiography.

The first Friend in North Carolina was one Henry Phillips, who had been a member in New England previous to his coming to North Carolina in 1665; though the real instigator of Quakerism among the early settlers was William Edmundson, of Ireland, making his first visit in 1672. This "traveling Friend," after much hardship reached a place probably not far distant from where Hertford, the county seat of Perquimans now stands, and in a three days' stay held two religious services. One of these two was at the home of Henry Phillips, who, with his family, had wept for joy at the coming of Edmundson, not having seen a Quaker for seven years. The second of these services was at the home and by the invitation of one Francis Toms,

a justice of the peace, who, with his wife, had at the first Meeting "received the truth with gladness." Edmundson was followed in a few months by George Fox himself. And no doubt Fox's coming had much to do in fostering and establishing the church, not only while in their midst, but by his letters of advice written after his return to England.

Of Fox's first visit, Bancroft says, "A Quarterly Meeting of discipline was established, and the sect of which opposition to spiritual authority is the badge, was the *first* to organize a religious government in North Carolina." That the first Religious Meeting in the State was a Quaker Meeting is sanctioned in an article by the Bishop of Eastern Carolina, the Right Reverend Joseph Blount Cheshire, a man who has carefully investigated the matter at first hand. He says, "Quakerism was the only organized form of religion in the colony, with no rival worship among the people for the rest of the seventeenth century (1672-1700). * * * It drew to itself a number of the intelligent and well-disposed inhabitants of Perquimans and Pasquotank. * * * These zealous and self-sacrificing men deserve to be held in honorable memory, who at the expense of so much time, labor and bodily suffering, cultivated the spiritual harvest in that distant and unattractive field. Quakerism did *not begin* (he is refuting the idea that Durant was a Quaker) the work of settlement, and of reclaiming the wilderness for civilization, but it has the *greater* honor of having brought some organized form of Christianity to the infant colony, and of having cared for those wandering sheep whom others neglected."

Four years after his first visit, Edmundson again visited Carolina, and of this time (1676) says, "Friends were finely settled there," while on his first visit, in 1672, he had said, "They seem to have little or no religion, and sat down in the Meetings smoking their pipes." In 1679, Friends made a petition to the General Assembly which would indicate some sort of organization among them. It is not till 1680, however, that the records begin. In that year Christopher Nicholson and Ann Attwood announce their intention of marriage before a "General Meeting." These early records are more or less incomplete; for they were not collected till 1728,

The first Yearly Meeting of which we have record was held in 1708, but we have the following statement in the Quarterly Meeting records, which fix the beginning of the Yearly Meeting definitely ten years earlier at 1698: "At a Quarterly Meeting at the house of Henry White's, this 4th day of the 4th month, 1698, it is unanimously agreed by Friends that all the Quarterly Meetings be altered, etc., * * * and the last 7th day of the 7th Month in every year to be the Yearly Meeting for this country at the house of Francis Toms, the elder, etc." This minute made the first Yearly Meeting of Friends in North Carolina, held Seventh Month, 1698, since which time, so far as we know, it has been held without interruption for two hundred and eleven years.

The Yearly Meeting Minutes of 1708 make most interesting reading as the following extracts will show. "The members of ye said meeting has appointed William Everigin Clark of this Yearly Meeting, instead of Gabriel Newby, by reason they think it will be more ease for him, and not for any dislike they have to his (Gabriel's) being Clarke." "The judgment of this meeting, considering the indecency of Friends in not keeping of their places in meeting—that Friends keep their places as much as possible, and not run in and out in times of worship and likewise in meetings of business."

At this meeting it was decided that the Yearly Meeting is too large when any and everyone is allowed to attend. So twelve *men* (no women) are appointed to consitute the Yearly Meeting. Three years later (1711) Emanuel Lowe, a son-in-law of John Archdale, was not allowed to take his seat among the select twelve, "the said Lowe having acted divers things contrary to our ways and privileges." What Lowe had done was stated in the appointment of the committee to examine into his action "in stirring up a parcel of men in arms, and going to Pamlico, and from thence to Chowan in a barkentine with men and force of arms contrary to our holy principles." This, of course, means that Lowe took part in the Cary Rebellion, a matter not so much to be wondered at when we note that Cary was also a son-in-law of John Archdale, and would naturally have much in common with Emanuel Lowe.

In 1709 the *only* business before the Yearly Meeting was the settlement of a difficulty between Francis Toms and his son-in-law, Gabriel Newby. The father-in-law had made accusation of "Gabriel as being wholly dead as to his ministry to him, and he receives no benefit by his ministry, and says he sways the whole meeting how he pleases, whether it be right or wrong." On the contrary, "Further ye said Francis Toms contrary to good order used amongst us, set with his hat on when Gabriel was at prayer, and when he was preaching turned his back to him as a dislike to his testimony." The meeting secured from each a promise to "live in peace and love and pass by all offenses that are past, and not to tear up anything that is past whereby controversy may arise."

There was only one session of the Yearly Meeting till 1727, when *two* days are needed. In 1731 *three* days are found necessary to complete the business, and from that time till the present the sessions have increased in number until now we have nine or ten as the case may require.

As to the time of holding the Yearly Meeting there has been little diversity. The first session was held Seventh Month (our present Ninth Month), but was soon changed to Eighth Month. A change in the calendar in 1752 put the Yearly Meeting in the Tenth Month. In 1813 it was changed to Eleventh Month, and thus it continued till 1880, when for the first time the sessions were held in our present Eighth Month. The following year (1881) proved to be the last year in which the sessions were held in Eleventh Month; for since 1882 the Yearly Meeting has assembled on the Fourth-day following the first Second-day in the Eighth Month.

Where the Yearly Meetings have been held is more or less of an index as to the parts of the State in which the church has been strongest. The first (1708) mention of place is "Perquimans." In 1741 Friends assembled at "Old Neck" (Perquimans County); in 1747 "at the meeting-house at Francis Toms." This much is sure, that for nearly a century (1698-1787) the Yearly Meetings were held within the limits of what was then, and is now, Eastern Quarter. But when the great migratory wave (Circa, 1750) of Friends from New England, Pennsylvania

and other points North had swept into our borders and organized themselves, and asserted their powers, then the Friends of Eastern Carolina shared their power and authority, and a new Quarterly Meeting was established in the central part of the State, which, by way of distinction, was called Western Quarter. (1759.) The migratory spirit was in the air, and the old Teutonic blood which had impelled Carolina's first settlers to cross the Virginia border, now impelled many of their descendants to move from the low-lands to the Piedmont Section of the State. Hence, so early as 1776, there is request made to the Yearly Meeting that it alternate between the Eastern and Western Quarters, or that a division be made in the Yearly Meeting. In 1784 the request was repeated, but not till 1786 was it granted. Thus for eighty-eight years was the Yearly Meeting held in Eastern Carolina. Then followed (1787-1812) a quarter century in which the Yearly Meeting alternated between Perquimans (or on four occasions Pasquotank) and Guilford counties. In 1813 the meeting was fixed at New Garden (Guilford County), where it was held till 1883, except in the year 1880, when Friends assembled in Tennessee. From 1883-1904, the town of High Point was the rallying point, but since that date, the sessions have been held to much satisfaction at Guilford College (New Garden Meeting).

The picture of the *first* Yearly Meeting-House, though doubtless familiar to many, is reproduced in this number of the BULLETIN. A rather dilapidated frame building at the time the picture was taken, and the minutes record that when the new brick building was completed, the old frame one was sold for \$145.00, and the purchaser was released from the payment of part of that upon reporting that the timbers did not prove to be as sound as was expected. The second Yearly Meeting-House—the brick one—was remodeled, and became the first King Hall of Guilford College. The large brick Yearly Meeting building at High Point has also been disposed of, and so there is no distinct Yearly Meeting building at the present time.

The growth and increase in membership or an actual count is impossible to determine. Early in the eighteenth century (1703), Governor Walker tries to arouse the Church of England

to extend care to Carolina, and among other things says: "We have an assembly to sit the 3rd of November, and there is *above half* of the burgesses that are chosen that are *Quakers*, and have declared their designs of making void the act for establishing the church, etc." [see page 18.] That "*above half*" the burgesses were of the Quaker faith is about the nearest approximation we can secure as to their *relative* numbers in the colony. This, too, was after the "golden era" of Quakerism in Carolina, which culminated in the governorship of John Archdale (1695-1697). However, by Quaker methods, the growth of the church can be noted as follows: From 1682-1759 (for seventy-seven years) there is only one Quarterly Meeting, namely, Eastern. In 1759 Western Quarter was set up. In 1787 New Garden; in 1788 Contentnea; in 1791 Bush River (South Carolina); in 1802 Lost Creek; in 1803 Westfield; in 1818 Deep River; in 1819 Southern; in 1870 Friendsville (Tennessee); in 1889 Yadkin Valley, and in 1898 Surry. Of these Bush River maintained itself until about 1812, when a large majority of the members moved to Miami, Ohio. After Lost Creek had set off Friendsville Quarter, it became a vexed problem to the Yearly Meeting with its strife and insubordination, and finally was laid down. Friendsville Quarter comprised the Friends of Tennessee, and they have in recent years (1897) been transferred to Wilmington Yearly Meeting. Westfield Quarter was laid down in 1833, but its membership became the nucleus of the two newer Quarterly Meetings, Yadkin Valley and Surry.

The following facts in regard to the growth and extent of the Yearly Meeting are deduced from the above data.

At the close of the seventeenth century, one Quarterly Meeting.

At the close of the eighteenth century, five Quarterly Meetings.

By the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the Yearly Meeting contained as many Quarterly Meetings as it now has (eight), and had extended its territory as far as it reached for the next fifty years.

By the end of the nineteenth century it had transferred a

large Quarterly Meeting to Wilmington, and had lost several members by separation in Eastern Quarter; but with all this maintained itself with growing vigor.

It may seem irrelevant, but as so many Friends in the Middle and Far West trace their ancestry back to Carolina, they may find the *names* of the different people who have served as clerk an interesting study. They are as follows: Gabriel Newby, William Everigin, John Symons, Joseph Robinson, Francis Nixon, Jacob Wilson, Josiah White, Thomas White, son of Joseph, George Walton, Benjamin Albertson, Levi Munden, Exum Newby, Enoch Macy, Thomas Jordan, Barnabas Coffin, Jeremiah Hubbard, Nathan Mendenhall, Aaron Stalker, John R. Hubbard, Nereus Mendenhall, Josiah Nicholson, Isham Cox, and Lewis Lyndon Hobbs, the last named having served continuously in that capacity since 1886. This list is also worthy of study; for it must needs give us a "bead roll of saints of God Almighty's making," who were not *all* and perhaps but few *ministers*; and it is the latter class which most frequently make the "bead rolls."

The first Yearly Meeting minute makes the following regulation: "The members of each Monthly Meeting belonging to this Yearly Meeting shall give an account to every Quarterly Meeting of ye state of their Monthly Meeting, and ye members appointed by the Quarterly Meeting to bring the State of ye quarterly to ye next Yearly Meeting." So far as known this is the first disciplinary measure, though when a discipline is formally adopted, in 1755 reference is made to a discipline adopted in 1704. In the minutes of 1727 is the statement that "several queries were read over," and there must have been a few, at least not unlike those which were in use at the time of the adoption of the Uniform Discipline. So early as 1715, there is complaint that the "Meetings for worship and discipline are not so well attended," a phrase which has sounded in the ear of many who read this, ever since they can remember. In 1716 "superfluity of apparel" is a matter of much concern, and a year later (1717) directions are given that there shall be no "provision" made at funerals; that is, no "victuals or drink be provided except as the case may

require." In 1740 sleeping in meeting is complained of. Other matters of discipline seem to come very near an infringement of one's own personal rights, as the following will show—"no Friend can wear a wig without the consent of his Monthly Meeting." * That this ruling of the Yearly Meeting is regarded, is proven by the records of the Perquimans Friends, where such a request was *not granted* by the Monthly Meeting. Some years later a similar request was made in the same Monthly Meeting, and this *was* granted with the advice "to wear a plain one."

By 1780 the Queries had much the same form as when the Query system was done away. There was always careful inquiry in regard to the attendance of meetings and the preservation of love and unity. Many of the other queries varied with the times, especially those with reference to slaves, to war, and to the use of spirituous liquors.

For a century or more of the existence of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, the reading of the queries and answers, and a consideration of the "state of society" formed the greater part of the Yearly Meeting's proceedings. The "weighty deliberation" of which they so often speak was carefully given and Friends were given ample opportunity to express their concerns in regard to different phases of the church work; and such expressions then, as now, were frequently embodied in an epistle of advice sent down to the subordinate meetings.

So early as 1776, the ruling is made that the queries must be answered accurately and *one by one*, definite inquiry is made in regard to memorials and new meeting-houses; in fact, everything which will keep the Yearly Meeting informed of work in every part of its domain.

This custom which Friends had, and still maintain, of reporting from year to year the passing of those of their number who have held positions of honor and trust in the church, and in their community, and the writing of memorials for those of special

*Is it not likely that the wigs here referred to were those worn for ornament in accordance with the fashion of the day? The prohibition was not peculiar to North Carolina; it was probably very general, as a similar prohibition is found in the Minutes of Sandwich Monthly Meeting (Mass.), 2nd mo., 1722.—Ed.

distinction is a custom which must not be allowed to cease, or even to wane; for such a "bead roll" is invaluable to the student of history.

Despite the effort which it must have cost the Friends in North Carolina in its early history with their insufficient education and their slips in grammar and penmanship, the majority of them seem conscious of the fact that they were making history, and throughout the records there is a *note* of carefulness, whether it was in reference to the keeping of the records or whether in the discharge of duty or appointment, or in the *adherence* to principle, or in the administration of their own private affairs. As proof of the above it may be noted that in the days when Elias Hicks was creating unrest and separations, the Friends of North Carolina produced a paper on the Divinity of Christ, and had ten thousand copies of the same scattered throughout the State. Also, when persons were appointed to attend the Yearly Meeting, they were remiss in duty if they did not attend *all* of its sessions.

In 1783 is the following minute: "In case of Freinds keeping taverns, and retailing any kind of spirituous liquors at courts, vendues, etc., coming under our solid consideration, we do give it as our judgment that no Friend in unity be concerned therein, except in particular cases to be judged of in the Monthly Meeting."

An interesting episode which runs through the minutes of several years about 1830, is a concern which originated at Deep River Meeting. It seems that some non-members had been burying their dead in the Friends' burying ground, and had put up "grave stones."* Some of the Friends had wittingly or unwittingly followed this example; hence the complaint to the Yearly Meeting. After much agitation and requests to the Friends to "remove the stones," it seems that little was accomplished, unless it be that a few of the stones were buried deeper so that they were not quite so conspicuous.

During the years immediately preceding 1844, the minutes

*The prohibition regarding gravestones dates from about the middle of the 18th century. "Gravestones requested to be removed" occurs in Minutes of Sandwich Monthly Meeting (Mass.), 4th mo., 1761.—Ed.

of North Carolina Yearly Meeting manifest a most kindly and helpful feeling toward the Friends of Virginia. All through the years of decline in that Yearly Meeting, North Carolina is careful to send not only the usual epistolary greeting, but also a large committee of its most influential members. The touch of sympathy is very manifest, and their sturdy encouragement and readiness to help must have been worth much to the Virginia Yearly Meeting.

No money considerations find their way into the deliberations of North Carolina Yearly Meeting for more than a quarter century. In 1735 a subscription is taken (not in the meeting however) to build a meeting-house. In 1743 the first assessment is made thus: "Each Monthly Meeting raise a sum of money according to each man's liberality." It is matter for congratulation that this money was for the reprinting of 'Fox's Primmers*' for the benefit of teaching children and others." In 1778 the first real tax was made, and this was levied to pay lawyers whom the Friends had employed in behalf of manumitted slaves who had been seized. The tax was as follows: Eastern Quarter, £450, and Western, £150. This shows that either the monied Friends, or else a majority of them, were still within the limits of Eastern Quarter. All through Revolutionary times Friends' "sufferings" are carefully reported from year to year. The maximum sum was reached in 1784 and was £4,134. In 1792 the Yearly Meeting stock is formally instituted, and during the great anti-slavery agitation, North Carolina Friends contributed *largely* in the deportation of the negro. Indeed, the Yearly Meeting to rid its membership of slavery became itself a large slave-owner, in the person of its "agents," sending the freedmen to free States as fast "as they were willing to go." In 1880 with various donations and money belonging to the Yearly Meeting, it seemed best to appoint Trustees who should represent the Yearly Meeting in all legal matters and signatures, which ruling is still in vogue.

[*An edition of George Fox's Primer, or spelling book, so-called, was printed at Newport, Rhode Island, 1769, by S. Southwick, which seems to imply a demand for it. It contains much of interest. The correct title is, "Spelling and Plain Directions for Reading and Writing True English, with several other Things very useful for Young and Old to read and learn."—Ed.]

To speak of the attitude of North Carolina Friends in regard to slavery would be superfluous when Stephen B. Weeks has so ably treated the subject in his "Southern Quakers and Slavery."

Little needs to be said on the matter of education; for Allen Jay's autobiography, with Mary M. Hobbs' supplement, have made that fresh in the minds of the readers of this article. But prior to 1830, the Friends seemed to be giving more attention to "schools and school learning for the people of color" than to those for their own children. In 1803 the subject of schools is first discussed, but in 1831 it is reported that there is not a single school in the Yearly Meeting distinctly under Friends' care. It was such a condition which gave birth to the founding of New Garden Boarding School, which is now Guilford College. It was that there might be teachers *among the Friends* properly equipped to go over the State and have the care of Friends' children. The Boarding School was to be the source of equipment. In 1849 came the definite widespread action of North Carolina Friends in reaching the masses of our State in the matter of education. At this time a General Committee of two men and two women in each Monthly Meeting was appointed to have definite care in educational matters. This continued till the work of the Baltimore Association came in, a work of which Governor Worth declared, "This movement is the most important phase of reconstruction that has come to my knowledge."

To read the minutes of North Carolina Yearly Meeting from the point of view of their attitude toward war, is a study in itself. That Emanuel Lowe, the son-in-law of John Archdale, was peremptorily disowned for bearing arms, shows the Friends in the infancy of the church to have been staunch in their adherence to peace principles *without respect of persons*. That historians have been wont to connect Friends with the War of the Regulators is matter of much regret to Friends; for though Herman Husbands, a leader among the Regulators, was at one time a Friend, a careful reading of the minutes of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting show that he was *disowned* by that meeting some years (1764) before the Regulator outbreak; disowned *not* for warlike

procedure either, but the rather for *speaking his mind* in a church quarrel. That some Friends may have taken part in the War of the Regulators cannot be denied, but that they were dealt with is almost without question.

During Revolutionary times, the Yearly Meeting strictly charged its membership "not to take part with either party," and "not to engage in running contraband goods." So soon as the war was over the Yearly Meeting sends a letter throughout its membership, leaving it with the individual whether or not he shall declare allegiance to the new government, but that such allegiance must be taken by *affirmation*.

How Friends of North Carolina fared during the War between the States is too well-known for comment here.

On the whole it may be fairly assumed that the Quaker supremacy in the early history of the State, prior to 1700, and their great, though waning power for the next fifty years have made the history of North Carolina not altogether unlike that of Pennsylvania; for we are firmly convinced that it was the influence of what Weeks calls "the flower of Puritanism," which has preserved the annals of our State from those dark pages which mar the history of Massachusetts and Virginia. 1828 the war query was most carefully worded, and a memorial on the subject of war was distributed throughout the membership. In 1847 Friends resorted to their frequent method of expostulation, and sent a memorial to Congress pleading for the termination of the Mexican War.

The study of the names which occur in the records is interesting to say the least; and to note how certain names have clung to given districts from their first settlement. Eastern Quarter has always had its Nicholson's and White's and Winslow's. Contentnea Quarter has always been the home of the Hollowell's and Moore's. Deep River has had its Mendenhall's from the beginning. That Friends cling to names of places is proven by the fact that New Garden, Ireland, had its duplicate in Pennsylvania; and, when the Friends of New Garden, Pennsylvania, moved to Carolina, the new meeting there set up was still called New Garden. And yet again when there came the great migration westward on account of slavery, there became in turn a New Garden in Indiana. Such facts as these help

much in determining who the Friends have been, settling certain sections, and from what place they came. To be sure the love of the euphonious is nowhere manifest in the naming of the Friends' Meetings in Carolina, but there is much of "local color" in such, as some of the following will prove: Beech Spring, Deep River, Piney Woods, Up River, Rocky River, Springfield and others.

To close this article without mentioning some of the prominent ministers which the Yearly Meeting has produced would be hardly just. Of course, Nathan Hunt stands foremost in the minds of all, with a close second in Mahlon Hockett or Jeremiah Hubbard, or Richard Jordan, or Charity Cook, or John Bond, or Asenath Clark—men and women who "served their generation by the will of God."

At the last Yearly Meeting (1908) the membership was reported as 6,728. With five days, and two sessions per day consumed in transacting the business, the minutes require 104 printed quarto pages. There are eight Quarterly Meetings and twenty-eight Monthly Meetings, and sixty-eight recorded ministers; and this means strictly *within* the State except a very few just across the State line in Virginia; for there are no longer Friends' Meetings in South Carolina and Georgia, and as already stated the Friends of Tennessee have been transferred to Wilmington Yearly Meeting.

What has been said in these pages refers to the Friends who have adopted the Uniform Discipline. In 1904 a few hundred in the eastern section of the State withdrew from the Yearly Meeting, and though still calling themselves Friends, are not in unity with the main body.

Though these two large sections have been taken out of North Carolina Yearly Meeting in recent times, to say nothing of the exodus on account of slavery, there is a steady increase in membership and a growing church; and when Friends have realized the fruits of their present efforts to plant the church in our centres of population, as well as to strengthen it in the rural districts, we believe that North Carolina Quakerism can then hope to develop itself in all phases of organized aggressive work, both doctrinal and educational.

Guilford College, N. C.

COLONEL WILLIAM BYRD AND THE QUAKERS.

[The following extracts are from Colonel William Byrd's "History of the Dividing Line, Run in the Year 1728." This account of running the dividing line between Virginia and North Carolina is printed in John Spencer Bassett's "The Writings of 'Colonel William Byrd of Westover in Virginia, Esq.," New York, 1901." William Byrd, 2nd, was the son of the immigrant, William Byrd, and was born in Virginia, 1674, and died at his fine mansion, Westover on the James River, 1744. He was for thirty-seven years a member of the King's Council in Virginia, and for many years one of the most prominent citizens of that colony, holding many offices and exercising great influence. He had been educated in England, was a personal friend of Pope, and was one of the most cultured men in America. He left a library of about 4000 volumes, at the time the largest private collection in the English colonies. It was sold by auction in 1778. One of his books, Sir Thomas Herbert's "Travels Into Africa and Asia the Great," etc., folio, London, 1677, is in the Library of Haverford College; it contains his fine book plate. Colonel William Byrd's style is lively, and his narrative flows smoothly. His spelling conforms in many cases to that of the Simplified Spelling Board of to-day, who certainly can claim that age is often on their side.—EDITOR.]

The Proprietors of New Jersey, finding more Trouble than Profit in their new Dominions, made over their Right to several other Persons, who obtained a fresh Grant from His Royal Highness, dated March 14th, 1682.

Several of the Grantees, being Quakers and Anabaptists, faild not to encourage many of their own perswasion to remove to this Peaceful Region. Amongst them were a Swarm of Quakers, who were not tolerated to exercise the Gifts of the Spirit in their own Country.

Besides the hopes of being Safe from Persecution in this Retreat, the New Proprietors inveigled many over by this tempting Account of the Country; that it was a Place free from those 3 great Scourges of Mankind, Priests, Lawyers, and Physicians. Nor did they tell a Word of a Lye, for the People were yet too poor to maintain these Learned Gentlemen, who, every where,

love to be paid well for what they do; and, like the Jews, cant breathe in a Climate where nothing is to be got.¹

The Jerseys continued under the Government of these Proprietors till the Year 1702, when they made a formal Surrender of the Dominion to the Queen, reserving however, the Property of the Soil to themselves. So soon as the Bounds of New Jersey came to be distinctly laid off, it appeared that there was still a Narrow Slipe of Land lying betwixt that Colony and Maryland. Of this, William Penn, a Man of much Worldly Wisdom, and some Eminence among the Quakers, got early Notice, and, by the Credit he had with the Duke of York, obtained a Patent for it. Dated March 4th, 1680 [1680-1681].

* * * * *

This Gentleman's first Grant confined Him within pretty Narrow Bounds, giving him only that Portion of Land which contains Buckingham, Philadelphia and Chester Counties. But to get these Bounds a little extended, He pusht His Interest still farther with His Royal Highness, and obtained a fresh Grant of the three Lower Counties, called New-Castle, Kent and Sussex, which still remained within the New York Patent, and had been luckily left out of the Grant of New Jersey.

The six Counties being thus incorporated, the Proprietor dignified the whole with the Name of Pensilvania.

The Quakers flockt over to this Country in Shoals, being averse to go to Heaven the same way with the Bishops. Amongst them were not a few of good Substance, who went vigorously upon every kind of Improvement; and thus much, I may truly say in their Praise that by Diligence and Frugality, For which this Harmless Sect is remarkable, and by having no Vices but such as are Private, they have, in a few Years, made Pensilvania a very fine country.

The Truth is, they have observed exact Justice with all the Natives that border upon them; they have purchased all their Lands from the Indians; and tho they paid but a Trifle for them, it has procured them the Credit of being more righteous than

¹Here follows a scandalous story relating to William Penn which Byrd quotes as partly accounting for Penn's success at Court. It is needless to say that the story has no evidence whatever to sustain it.

their Neighbours. They have likewise had the Prudence to treat them kindly upon all Occasions, which has saved them from many Wars and Massacres, wherein the other Colonies have been indiscreetly involved. The Truth of it is, a People whose Principles forbid them to draw the Carnal Sword, were in the Right to give no Provocation. [Pages 18-21.]

In our Journey we remarkt that the North Side of this great [Dismal] Swamp lies higher than either the East or the West, nor were the approaches to it so full of Sunken Grounds. We passt by no less than two Quaker Meeting Houses, one of which had an Awkward Ornament on the West End of it, that seemed to Ape a Steeple. I must own I expected no such Piece of Foppery from a Sect of so much outside Simplicity.¹

That persuasion prevails much in the lower end of Nansimond county, for want of Ministers to Pilot the People a decen-ter way to Heaven.

The ill Reputation of Tobacco planted in those lower Parishes makes the Clergy unwilling to accept of them, unless it is such whose abilities are as mean as their Pay.² Thus, whether the Churches be quite void or but indifferently filled, the Quakers will have an Opportunity of gaining Proselytes. 'Tis a wonder no Popish Missionaries are sent from Maryland to labour in this Neglected Vineyard, who we know have Zeal enough to traverse Sea and Land on the Meritorious Errand of making converts. 1728, March 16th [Pages 57, 58].

¹The editor has not been able to identify these meeting houses.

²The legal salary for a clergyman in Virginia at this time was 16,000 pounds of tobacco.

QUAKERS IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1703.

[The following extracts give an outside view of the Friends in North Carolina in 1703. They are from reports made to the Church of England "Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts," of which the first agent in America was the well-known George Keith, who had given Friends in America and England so much trouble in the closing years of the 18th century. They are taken from the "Collections of the Protestant Episcopal Historical Society for the year 1851," pages 182-185. The first extract is referred to on page 7.—Editor.]

"Mr. Henderson Walker to the Lord Bishop of London.

North Carolina, 21st October, 1703.

May it please your Lordship:

.....My Lord, we have been settled neer fifty years in this place, and I may justly say most part of twenty-one years on my own knowledge without Priest or Altar, and before that time, according to all that appears to me, much worse. George Fox some years ago came into these parts, and by strange infatuations did infuse the Quakers' Principles into some small number of the people, which did and hath continued to grow ever since very numerous by reason of their yearly sending in men to encourage and exhort them to their wicked principles; and here was none to dispute nor to oppose them in carrying on their pernicious principles for many years, till God of his infinite goodness was pleased to inspire the Rev. Dr. Bray some time about four years ago to send in some books of his own particular pious gift of the explanation of the Church Catechism, with some other small books to be disposed of and lent as we thought fit, did in some measure put a stop to their growth; and about a year after did send to us a library of books for the benefit of this place, given by the honorable the Corporation for the establishing of the Christian religion, by one Mr. Daniel Bret, a minister appointed for this place. He for about half a year behaved himself in a modest manner, but after that in a most horrid manner; broke out in such an extravagant course that I am ashamed to express his carriage, it being in so high

nature. It hath been a great trouble and grief to us who have a great veneration for the Church that the first minister that was sent to us should prove so ill as to give the Dissenters so much occasion to charge us with him.

My Lord, I humbly beg leave to inform you that we have an Assembly to sit the 3rd November next, and there is one half of the Burgesses that are chosen are Quakers and have declared their designs of making void the act for establishing the Church; if your Lordship out of your good and pious care of us doth not put a stop to their growth, we shall the most part, especially the children born here, become heathens. I humbly entreat your Lordship to send some worthy good man amongst us to regain the Flock, and so perfect us in our duty to God, and establish us by his Doctrine, life and conversation in the fundamentalls of our Christian profession that we in our time and those as come hereafter, may bless God that he has raised up so noble a pillar as your Lordship to regain those who are going astray, and put a stop to the pernicious growing Principles of the Quakers.

My Lord,

Your most humble and obedien servant,

HENDERSON WALKER."

AN ACCOUNT OF MR. BLAIR'S MISSION TO NORTH CAROLINA.

".....I landed in Virginia 14th January, 1703. As soon as I could conveniently travel, I waited on the Governor [Francis Nicholson] and immediately after made the best of my way into the country where I was bound.

I arrived amongst the Inhabitants after a tedious and troublesome journey on the 24th. I was then obliged to buy a couple of Horses, which cost me fourteen pounds, one of which was for a guide, because there is no possibility for a stranger to find his Road in that Country, for if he once goes astray (it being such a Desart country) it's a hazard if ever he finds his

Road again. Besides there are such mighty inconveniences in traveling there, for the roads are not only deep and difficult to be found, but there are likewise seven great Rivers in the country, over which there is no passing with horses, except two of them, one of which the Quakers have settled a Ferry over for their own conveniency, and nobody but themselves have the Privilege of it, so that at the passing over the Rivers, I was obliged either to borrow or hire Horses, which was both troublesome and chargeable, insomuch that in little more than two months I was obliged to dispose of the necessaries I carried over for my own use to satisfy my creditors.....

I remained very well satisfied in the Country till their Assembly sat, which was on 1st March, where I expected they would propose a settlement for my maintenance; and they taking no care of it, together with my then circumstances, which were but very indifferent, Discouraged me very much, and occasioned my first thoughts of returning to England, for I was informed before I went thither that there was £30 per annum settled by Law to be paid in each Precinct for the Maintenance of a Minister, which Law was sent over hither to be confirmed by their Lords' proprietors; and it being supposed not to be a competency for a Minister to live on, was sent back again without Confirmation, whereof the Quakers took the advantage, and will endeavour to prevent any such Law passing for the future; for they are the greatest number in the Assembly, and are unanimous, and stand truly to one another in whatsoever may be for their Interest, for the Country may be divided into four sorts of people: 1st, the Quakers, who are the most powerful enemies to Church Government, but a people very ignorant of what they profess; 2nd sort are a great many that have no Religion, but would be Quakers if by that they were not obliged to lead a more moral life than they are willing to comply to; a 3rd sort, are something like Presbyterians, which sort is upheld by some idle Fellows that have left their lawful Imployment and preach and baptize through the country without any manner of orders from any sect or pretended Church. A 4th sort, who are really zealous for the Interest of the Church, are the fewest in numbers, but the better sort of people, and would do very

much for the settlement of Church Government there, if not opposed by these three Precedent Sects, and although they be all three of different pretensions, yet they all concur together in one common cause to prevent anything that will be chargeable to them, as they allege Church Government will be if once establisht by Law; and another great discouragement these poor people have is a Governor [Thomas Cary] who does not in the least countenance them in this business, but rather discourage them."

THE PHILADELPHIA COUNTERPART OF THE BOSTON TEA PARTY.

(As shown by the correspondence of James & Drinker.)

CONCLUSION.

BY THOMAS B. TAYLOR.

NEW YORK, 3rd November 1773.

Sirs,—

We duly received your favour of the 29th ultimo. Since our last we have carefully collected the sentiments of people in general, and we can now congratulate you on a complete victory gained over the opposition here. The Smugglers find they cannot appear themselves without being pointed out, and no other persons will take the lead; they have in vain attempted to do it themselves, for they find nobody will follow them; so that on comparing the sentiments of people in general, with the Governor's, and the Agents themselves, we are of opinion that if the Tea should arrive to-morrow, and the duty be paid here, it would be landed and sold with very little opposition. There is not one impartial person in the City but what now says the Tea should have been imported, and the Duty paid, when it was first complied with by the other Colonies, and that it was prevented only by a junto of smugglers for their own private, sinister purposes; had this been done at first, the East India Company would never have thought of the present measure, and tho' they conceive it to be a dangerous monopoly, and big with the greatest mischiefs to the commerce of America, they see no way of preventing it, but are very ready in laying the blame where it ought to be, at the door of the Smugglers. We shall now be as glad to see the Tea arrive here first, as we

heretofore wished it might be first with you, so very short is human foresight in matters which the most nearly concerns us.

We are, Sirs,

Your most hble Serv'ts

PIGON & BOOTH.

To

MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER

Merchants in

Philadelphia.

New York, 3rd November, 1773, from Pigon & Booth.

PHILADELPHIA, 11th Mo. 6th, 1773.

Esteemed Friends,—

We have to own your two favours of 28th ult. & 3rd Instant. In the present state of things, and what appears to be the Temper of the people of your place & ours, we sincerely join you in wishing the Ship intended for your port with Teas may arrive there so long before that bound to this place, as to give us timely & full information of the reception you give the Ship & your whole proceedings in the matter.

Such is our situation, that to avoid Heats & Clamour, we carefully refrain entering upon the subject, only with a number of our cool & assured Friends, who have united with us in believing & expecting that a little time would produce a material alteration among the sensible & judicious & that we might then freely enter into a deliberate discussion of the affair. Altho' this seems to be coming forward slowly, yet a number now say the proceedings & sentiments of the People about the Time of the Town Meeting were hasty & undefensible, nevertheless it is out of our Power to say the turn things will take should the Ship arrive, but this we are clear on, that the longer we are continued in a state of *suspence* & the more time that is given to the late heated Spirits to cool & Reflect, the less opposition will be given.

Could we be satisfied that you are right in your judgment on the late Act of Parliam't. that is, *that the paym't of all Duties on both sides the Water is as much suspended as if the Act was totally repealed*, we should be perfectly easy, but it has not as yet upon a careful perusal of the whole Act, appeared clearly to us that it is the Case, neither do we find many here of your Sentiments. Perhaps your further remarks on the force & meaning of some parts of the Law may tend to inform us more fully & satisfactorily herein. But if you are right in your opinion, we conceive every caution that you are so prudently taking to see the Captain early, would be the less necessary.

Your last Letter is very full indeed, and we wish you may be rightly & fully inform'd—we have heard it in some measure confirm'd, & on the contrary have seen a Letter from your place, wrote by a person on whose information we should place a good deal of dependence, who insists

upon it that Rivington has suffered much in his Reputation as a Printer by his introducing so partially a part of the Act of Parliament tending to deceive & mislead the People, & further says this Writer the Tea will not be rec'd or Landed if subject to the Duty.

We find our Custom House have obtained from Boston an Acc't of the Teas imported there which have paid the Duty of 3 d. per lb. the whole being about 1200 Chests.

As we may Hourly expect the arrival of the ship here & with you, we intend to give you the earliest intimation of our movements when that happens here & must intreat you will lose no time in acquainting us with your proceedings—a mutual care herein may be beneficial at both places.

We are

Your affectionate Friends,

11 Mo. 6th, 1773, to Pigon & Booth, New York.

NEW YORK, 10th November 1773.

Sirs,—

We have before us your favour of the 6th current. The late Act of Parliament respecting Tea, is a very confused one, and will require no less judgment than that of a Treasury Board, where perhaps it originated, to explain it. Some of our Lawyers are of opinion that Tea cannot be landed here free of the duty of 3 d. per lb., but we pay no regard to this opinion. The single question with us, is, whether the Lords of the Treasury will think any clause in that Act of sufficient force to authorize them in granting a License to send Tea to America *free of all Duties whatsoever*. That branch of the Revenue relating to the Customs, is by several Acts of Parliament put wholly under their direction, and they have more than once taken great latitude in explaining particular Laws; this however is certain, that we have clear advices *that no duty will be paid here*, and how it can be compromised any other way, we are not able to determine. We hope you will not be led to believe, that Rivington has suffered in the opinion of one moderate Man, by inserting the clause you mention. We observe great pains is taken both here and at Philada. to magnify every little circumstance, with a view of keeping the opposition in heart. Great complaint has come from your City that so little has been done here, and we believe the disturbance of the 5th of November was effected solely with a view of removing that complaint. What would you say if the whole of that scheme was concerted in your City? This however is a fact, that Corn. Bradford appeared to have the direction of the Cart which carried the effigies, and was the only Man that seemed to be decently dressed. We have an authenticated Account of the Tea imported into Boston, and below is a summary of the particulars. Our principal fear still is, that the Smugglers being so deeply interested in preventing the landing of the Tea, they may even

attempt to destroy the Vessel before she comes up; this has partly determined us to have a Boat constantly off the Hook, purely to deliver a letter of caution to the Captain. You may depend on our giving you the earliest Account of the arrival of the Tea here, and of every movement that may be taken in consequence of it. We have received your favour of yesterday. James McAuley on Walter & Thomas Buchanan for 25 Pds. Jamaica Currency is accepted.

We are, Sirs,
Your most hble Serv'ts
PIGON & BOOTH.

To

MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER
Merch'ts in
Philadelphia.

New York, 10th Nov., 1773, Pigon & Booth.

An Account of Tea imported into Boston which has paid the Duty of 3 d.
per lb. —————

| | Chests | Half Chester | Qr. Chests |
|-----------------------|------------|--------------|------------|
| In the Year 1769..... | 329 | 11 | |
| 1770..... | 153 | 14 | |
| 1771..... | 709 | 84 | 7 |
| 1772..... | 323 | 52 | |
| 1773 to 23 Oct. 349 | 25 | | |
| | <hr/> 1863 | <hr/> 186 | <hr/> 7 |

Sirs,—

We take the opportunity by Mr. Pollard of forwarding you Rivington's Paper, which contains some curious pieces. They display in some measure the policy of the Smugglers, whose conduct gains no friends, and makes them many enemies.

We are, Sirs,
Your most obed't Serv't
PIGON & BOOTH.

New York,
11th Nov. 1773.

To

MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER,
Merch'ts in
Philadelphia.

New York, 11th Nov., 1773, Pigon & Booth.

NEW YORK, 12th November 1773.

Sirs,

One Mr. Lampriere, sets out this day for your City, who will deliver you a Bundle containing 82 Pds. 19.— on our Acct. We have now a diverting incident to relate; the Persons who prepared Mr. Kelly's effigy on the 5th of November meeting with no opposition, were determined to make further experiments of the like nature, and we are told has actually prepared our B. B.'s effigy, supposing him to have fewer Friends in the City than either of the other Agents, and were to have paraded with it last Tuesday or Wednesday evening, having forged a lie for the purpose to make it go down, namely, that he had declared he would receive the Tea and sell it, duty or no duty. Some Gentlemen getting intelligence of the design, went to the Mayor, and in a very spirited manner insisted upon his raising the posse to prevent any disturbance, and many persons offering to give him assistance, there would have been some bloody noses, had not the project been laid aside. The Mayor has been highly blamed for not appearing on the 5th of November and we imagine is in some pain about his office; we suppose you need not be told he is elected by the Governor. The Smugglers want to be doing something, but they cannot tell what; their fingers itch to disturb the repose of the Agents, and for this purpose virulent Papers have been put under our doors, and stuck up at the Coffee House, but all the Town see the impropriety of attacking them till they have been first required to resign, and that is a measure they dare not risque.

We are, Sirs,

Your most obed't Serv'ts,

PIGON & BOOTH.

Mr. Jones has been indisposed but he will be with you next week.

To

MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER

Merch'ts in

Philadelphia.

New York, 12th Nov., 1773, from Pigon & Booth.

Sirs,—

We have before us your favour of yesterday, and have only time to inclose you Rivington's Paper, which we think is worth the Postage, at least to a *Tea Commissioner*, only to shew with what freedom we act and speak. The account of the Tea's being arrived at Boston proves to be premature.

We are, Sirs,

Your most obed't Serv'ts,

PIGON & BOOTH.

New York, 19th Nov., 1773.

Our great folks are very angry at the conduct of the opposition, and we hear it is a determined point to land the Tea, and protect it when landed, and for the Sale of it we are sure of a great majority, if the Duty is not to be paid here.

To

MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER
Merchants in
Philadelphia.

New York, 19th Nov., 1773, from Pigon & Booth.

PHILADA., 11th Mo. 20th, 1773.

Esteemed Friends,

PIGON & BOOTH, New York.

Since writing ours of 18th we have look'd over your favour of the 17th Instant with more attention than time wou'd then permit. The Bonds executed in London by the Friends of the Consignees in America, to whom the East India Company are about sending their Tea, seem to us properly guarded should any difficulty happen as to the receiving & selling said Tea,—we observe that the security is given for the faithful paym't of the Money for which *the Agent* shall sell the Tea, yet that it will come out as a joint Consignment to all the Agents named at one place. Whether this latter circumstance will produce any difficulties we cannot yet say, but should they not all be of a mind so as to act the same part on its arrival, it may open a door in these troublesome times that ought to be well guarded. The mention of Freight & Duty in the Bond carries an appearance with it, that the latter is to be paid to answer the ends of the Law which imposed it, & therefore we have very little prospect of its obtaining an *easy* reception here, however as nothing fresh has lately happen'd that materially alters what we have wrote you on this head, we shall now leave it. We are really pleased to gather from your acc't of the Ships coming out from London that the one bound to your port has a chance of arriving there first. Should that be the case the earliest & fullest information of your proceedings may be very important & useful to us. It is said by some that Tea, (which has lately advanced & become scarce here) may be expected in quantities from St. Eustatia, & the prospects of profit to the importers, if they can Monopolize the Trade, will no doubt make them fertile in expedients, to prevent other dealers from being partakers of the advantages to be derived from the Sale of that Article. We are anxious to hear further from Boston and if the Tea is arrived

to know the Measures pursued there. Will it not be an aggravation & give a handle to the people of N. York and this place to hear that the Duty is paid in Boston under the Revenue Act as directed therein, and that those two places are distinguished by a different way of paying it? as it was early discovered by the learned here, that whether paid in England or America, there was no real difference.

Philada., 11 Mo. 20, 1773, Letter to Pigon & Booth, New York, Copied.

21st. 9 o'clock in the Morning.

The above waited the arrival of the Mail by which we have your favour of 19th for which we thank you, & from the pieces in Rivington's Paper we are led to think that the Opposition are aware that Government with you are against them, and that if the Tea arrives at the City it will be admitted & Sold. Little or no change in the People here that we know of as to the Interesting Subject which is all we have time to add, save that we are your most

Assured Friends,

Sirs,

I have only time to tell you that your favour of the 20th current is come to hand; nothing new has happened here. Next Post you will have a new piece; it is my first exhibition. Hitherto I have not appeared in print. I reserved myself for the time when reason and argument would have some weight; that period seems now to be come.

I am, for F. Pigon & Self,

Sirs, Your most obed't Serv't

BEN BOOTH.

New York, 22nd Nov. 1773.

To

MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER

Merch'ts in

Philadelphia.

New York, Nov. 22nd, 1773, from Ben. Booth.

NEW YORK, 24th November 1773.

Sirs,—

Last night arrived here the Sampson Capt. Coupar from London, which he left the 20th of July; the Tea ships were then ready to sail for both ports, and may be hourly expected. Inclosed you have two pieces signed Poplicola and a Farmer; it was a little unlucky for the poor Farmer, to be so close upon the heels of the great Poplicola; indeed they would have jostled each other at their entrance, if the Farmer had not modestly drawn back, and waited till the next day,

to give place to his betters. You will observe Poplicola still maintains his first position, that the Duties on Tea are all taken off. We know not what you may think of him, but he is in high reputation here. We think as you do that if the Agents disagree in their sentiments, it may be productive of many inconveniences; the only security we see against it, is, its being so much their Interest to think alike; so that we are no way apprehensive of any misunderstanding happening here. If we do not see clearly that we shall be able to sell the Tea, without considerable opposition, we shall give up that point, upon condition it may be stored till we have further instructions from the East India Company; this will give them time to apply to Parliament at the beginning of the Session. The Smugglers will also have time to run off their Teas, and will not dare to send for more; so that in the Spring we may sell the Tea, and proceed in the business without opposition.

We are, Sirs,

Your most obed't Serv'ts

PIGON & BOOTH.

To

MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER,

Merch'ts in

Philadelphia.

New York, Nov. 24th, 1773, from Pigon & Booth.

PHILADA., 30th of 11th Mo. 1773.

Esteemed Friends,

PIGON & BOOTH, New York.

We duly rec'd your favours of 22nd and 24th Instant and were much pleased with the two Publications, but little use can be made of them here, at least we know not at present any opening for a Distribution of them if we were to get them reprinted. Such is the Taste here that nothing seems generally read or attended to but what contains—Cursed Tea, Detested Tea, Rotten Tea &c. &c. with a Torrent of Abuse of the British Ministry, Parliament, India Company, American Tea Commissioners &c. &c.

Your sentiments about Storing the Tea provided the Opposition will not suffer it to be sold is exactly agreeable to our Sentiments, but we do not flatter ourselves with such a firm Union with the other Agents here as there should be nor that much dependence can be had on such a reasonable Measure being allow'd here. We sincerely wish for the Honor & reputation of our City it could, even if we were sure we should be no gainers but losers by it, rather than the Measures pointed out in the printed Paper inclosed which came out, on the 26th Instant in the evening & next Evening there was a Meeting of the late Committee and a Number of the old Committee chosen at the Entering into the Non-importation Agreement who, we are informed, have determined on calling a Meeting

of the Inhabitants on the Arrival of the Ship with Tea to determine on what shall be found necessary to do at that Time.

Since writing the above we have rec'd your acceptable Favour of 29th Instant and have perused it with all the Attention the time will afford and have to observe that what is contained therein will we make no doubt be generally Circulated here & bring forward some further Measures on the side of the Opposition. We shall take the first hour we can after the Letters to go by the Packet are sent to the Office, to be ready with an Answer suitable to the Occasion. The further consideration of the several judicious Sentiments contained in your letter will be given thereto as soon as in the power of your

Affectionate & next Friend,

30th of 11th Mo., 1773. Copy of a Letter to Pigon & Booth of New York.

James and Drinker upon the late arrival of the October Mail into New York from England have receiv'd information that they together with Thomas & Isaac Wharton, Jonathan Brown & Gilbert Barkley are appointed by the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies to receive & sell certain Teas, Shipp'd by the said Directors in the Ship Polly, Samuel Ayres Master, now hourly expected to arrive here, do think it Seasonable to declare themselves on the Subject of their being Appointed as Agents in this Business. That if the Teas arrive here subject to the Payment of a Duty under the American Revenue Act they ought to be received & deposited in a place of Safety there to remain without an Attempt of the Agents or any others to make Sale thereof, and the East India Directors informed that the Inhabitants of this Province appear to be determin'd not to purchase said Teas but to discourage & prevent the Sale of them during the existence of the said Act. That the said East India Directors should therefore be desired to exert their weight & Influence with the British Parliament to obtain a repeal of the said Act as the most certain mode of opening the way for a Sale of their Teas here. If this measure should not be adopted or they fail of succeeding therein, then to order the Teas from hence to some other part of the World. These are Sentiments the said James and Drinker have steadily & publicly avowed and as they apprehend become them as persons really concerned for the Reputation and Peace of the City & who have a thorough regard for the security & preservation of the Civil Rights and true Interests of their Country.

Yet they have constantly declared and particularly on the 18th of October last upon being applied to by a Committee who were appointed two days before at the State House that they neither meant or intended to do anything that should be disagreeable to their fellow Citizens, and they now repeat that assurance. And as they stand inform'd by the said Committee and others that it is the general sense of the People that the

Agents ought not to receive the said Tea if subject to the aforesaid Duty,—and as no considerable number of the Inhabitants have by any ways or means made it known to them that they disapprove of, or are of different Sentiments. Therefore the said James & Drinker must and do conclude that it is the general Opinion of the People that they should not act under their appointment as Agents, and do therefore *decline Acting under the said Appointment.*

(Signed) JAMES and DRINKER.

Philada. December 2, 1773.

Copy.

Esteemed Friends,—

Your favours of 29th Nov., 1st & 3rd inst. remain with us as you would wish them.

We intend soon to give you a particular detail of our proceedings here, which time don't now admit of.

Upon arrival of the Post on the 2nd Inst. bringing us full information from the E. I. Directors, we could no longer suspend a definite answer agreeable to our promise on the 18th of October & now loudly & indecently call'd for.* You have a Copy of it on the other side which occasion'd great Wrath in many, that we should dare to intrude on the Public our Sentim'ts as to the Receiv'g & Housing the Tea &c. & intimate as far as our ticklish situations would admit. that we would have executed the Commission could we be supported by any considerable number of the Inhabitants. Had there been more time allow'd us we should have framed an Answer more to our own satisfaction, but we think it will not hurt us with the unbiased & judicious.

By next Post we intend to write more fully, when in all probability some account of Cap't Ayres may be with us, in meantime we remain your

Assured Friends,

12 Mo. 4, 1773, to

PIGON & BOOTH, New York.

*The foregoing is no doubt the reply to the following "card," of which a copy is not found among the Drinker papers, but is extracted from the booklet published by Mr. Frank M. Etting, in his "History of Independence Hall."

A CARD.

The public present their compliments to Messrs. James & Drinker. We are informed that you have this day received your commission to enslave your native country,—and as your frivolous plea of having received no advice, relative to the scandalous part you were to act, in the Tea scheme, cannot longer serve your purpose, nor divert our attention, we expect and desire you will immediately inform the public, by a line or two to be left at the coffee house, whether you will, or will not renounce all pretensions to execute that commission? THAT WE MAY GOVERN OURSELVES ACCORDINGLY.

Philadelphia, Dec. 2d, 1773.

CASTLE WILLIAM, 4th December, 1773.

Gentlemen,—

By our Letters lately receiv'd from the Hon'ble Directors of the East India Company, we are order'd to Correspond with you & the other Agents of the Company at the different Colonies, & to communicate the disposition of the Inhabitants, the State of our Sales &c.

As to the former of these points, we beg leave to refer you to our publick Prints for upwards of a month past. in which you may perceive the methods that were early made use of, to instigate the People of this Province to oppose the introduction & sale of the Teas that were expected to arrive here from the Company, & the various steps that were from time to time taken to oblige the Consignees in Boston, you will also see in the Publick Papers the answers which we have from one time to another given to the Demands that were made upon us, also some mention made of our application to the Governor & Council for their protection & assistance. We have not yet received from the Secretary's Office an authentick account of the proceedings of the Council, but are inform'd that the Council did not advise to any effectual measures for the Security of the expected Teas, or the protection of our Persons. In Addition to what has appear'd in our publick Papers we would inform you, that towards the close of last week, upon finding that the rage of the People against the plan of the Hon'ble East India Company was greatly increased, some of us had an interview with the Selectmen of the Town, and then offer in order to compose the minds of the People & to restore the Peace of the Town to Store the Teas until we should hear from our Constituents; to this we were answer'd that from the temper of the People they were perswaded (sic) that nothing but our Shipping back the Tea would satisfy them, to which we replied that we could not possibly comply with so unreasonable a requisition.

Cap't Hall arriv'd with part of the Teas last Sunday, the next morning a large number of People assembled on this occasion & continued their meeting through that and the next day. We beg leave to refer you for their proceedings to the Account which that Assembly Order'd to be printed, & which will undoubtedly reach you before you can receive this.

We wou'd further advise you, that on consideration of the outrages which had been perpetrated, the menaces which were publickly given out & the hazard we were continually under of being constrained to submit to their most unreasonable demands, we judgd it necessary to retreat to this place of safety.

You'll perceive by the last printed Account of their transactions that they have ordered that the Teas shall be sent back, whether they will be able to accomplish this or not we leave to be determined by the Event. However that may be, it is our fixed resolution that we will not give any Orders or directions for that purpose, and that we may not be obliged to act contrary to our judgment, we intend to stay in this Place untill we can return to Town without exposing our Constituents' Interest

to hazard, altho' our being absent from our Houses and Business will be attended with great Inconvenience and damage.

We must beg the favor of you Gentlemen to advise us of the situation of this affair in your place, and are

Thomas & Isaac Wharton Esqs.

Abel James & Henry Drinker Esqs.

Gilbert Barkly Esq. &

Jonathan Brown Esq.

Copy.

Gentlemen,

Your most humble Servants,

THOS. & ELISHA HUTCHINSON

RICH'D CLARKE & SONS

BENJ'N FANEUIL Jun'r.

Castle William, Dec. 4, 1773, from Thos. & Elisha Hutchinson & others Esquires.

To The
TRADESMEN, MECHANICS, &c.
Of the Province of
PENNSYLVANIA.

My dear and much Respected Brethren,

At a Time when a corrupt and prostituted Ministry are pointing their destructive Machines against the sacred Liberties of the *Americans*, the Eyes of all *Europe* are upon us; and much is expected from the known Resolution and Conduct of the *Pennsylvanians*, amongst whom the industrious and respectable Body of TRADESMEN and MECHANICS hear a very large Proportion. The Point in Question is, Whether we have Property of our own, or not? whether our Property, and the dear-earned Fruits of our Labour, are at our own Disposal, or shall be wantonly wrested from us, by a Set of luxurious, abandoned and piratical Hirelings, to be appropriated by them to increase the Number of such infamous Pensioners, and support their unlim-

ited Extravagance? The Result depends on our determined Virtue and Integrity, at so important a Crisis.

The Nature of the detestable TEA-SCHEME, and the pernicious Consequences of submitting to receive it amongst us, subject to a Duty payable here, and levied on us without our Consent, have been so judiciously set forth, and demonstrated by abler Pens, as to leave no Room for one of my Capacity to undertake it; and, if the trifling Duty of *Three-Pence* were ONLY to be considered, it would not be worth our while to oppose it; nor worth while for the Ministry so strenuously to insist on; and take off, in Lieu thereof, a much greater Sum payable in London: But, that by this Breach (though small) they will enter the Bul-

wark of our sacred Liberties, and will never desist, till they have made a Conquest of the Whole.

These arbitrary Measures we have virtuously opposed hitherto: Let us for our own Sakes, for our Posterity's Sake, for our Country's Sake, stedfastly persevere in Opposing to the End. Corruption, Extravagance, and Luxury, are seldom found in the Habitations of Tradesmen. Industry, Economy, Prudence, and Fortitude, generally inhabit there; and I expect to see these commendable Virtues shine forth upon the present Occasion, with more than brilliant Lustre.

Let not the artful Insinuation of our Enemies, *That the Duty will be paid in England, by the East-India Company, and not in America*, have any Weight amongst us: This is one of their Toils to ensnare us. The Act of 11th of Geo. 3, expressly lays the aforesaid Duty, on all Teas imported in America from England, payable on its landing here; And no private Contract between the East-India Company and the Lords of the Treasury, no Power under the Crown, nor even the King himself, can dispense with, set aside, disannul, or make void such a Clause, or any other in any Act of Parliament, but the same Power and Authority by which it was enacted. The grand Point in View is, by every Artifice to enslave the *American Colonies*, and to plunder them of their property, and, what is more, *their Birth-Right*, LIBERTY. It is therefore highly incumbent on us unitedly, with

Heart and Soul, to resist the diabolical Delusion, and *despise* the infamous *Projectors*.

But supposing the Act was repealed, and the Tea could be imported free of any Duty, Impost, or Custom; yet, is it not a most gross and daring Insult to pilfer the Trade from the *Americans*, and lodge it in the Hands of the *East-India Company*? Let us not be prevailed upon to suppose that this will affect the Merchants only:—We need not concern ourselves with it:—It will first most sensibly affect the Merchants; but it will also very materially affect you, ME, and every Member of the Community. The *East India Company* at present have shipped their desperate Adventure in chartered Bottoms; it was prudent so to do, or else possibly their obnoxious Vessels and Cargoes might become a Sacrifice to the Resentment of a much injured and exasperated People. The same Consideration might probably have induced them to appoint our Merchants their Agents to support the first heat of Action, rightly judging that if we would chastise our Friends *with Whips*, we should chastise their Factors *with Scorpions*. But if they can once open the Channel of Trade to themselves, they will hereafter ship their Teas in their own Bottoms. They have passed a gross Affront upon our Merchants in appointing such, whom we respect, Commissioners. Hereafter, if they succeed, they will send their own Factors and Creatures, establish Houses amongst US.

Ship US all other *East-India* Goods; and in order to full freight their Ships, take in other Kind of Goods at under Freight, or (more probably) ship them on their own accounts to their own Factors, and under-sell our Merchants, till they monopolize the whole Trade. Thus our Merchants are ruined, Ship Building ceases. They will then sell Goods at any exorbitant Price. Our Artificers will be unemployed, and every Tradesmen will groan under the dire Oppression.

The *East-India* Company, if once they get Footing in this (ONCE) happy Country, will leave no Stone unturned to become your Masters. They are an opulent Body, and Money or Credit is not wanting amongst them. They have a designing, depraved, and despotic Ministry to assist and support them. They themselves are

well versed in TYRANNY, PLUNDER, OPPRESSION and BLOODSHED. Whole Provinces labouring under the Distresses of Oppression, Slavery, Famine, and the Sword, are familiar to them. Thus they have enriched themselves,—thus they are become the most powerful Trading Company in the Universe. Be, therefore, my dear Fellow-Tradesmen, prudent,—be watchful,—be determined to let no Motive induce you to favour the accursed Scheme. Reject every Proposal, but a *repealing act*. Let not their baneful Commodity enter your City. Treat every Aidor or Abettor with Ignominy, Contempt, &c. and let your whole Deportment prove to the World, “THAT WE WILL BE FREE INDEED.”

A MECHANIC.

Philadelphia, December 4, 1773.

PHILADA., 7th of 12th Mo. 1773.

Esteemed Friends,

PIGON & BOOTH, New York.

Since our last many People Speak with more Freedom than we know they did before that the ship should come up & some go so far as to say the Tea ought to be landed, but the general View is that it shall not and every procedure is had on the Inclos'd Extra Letter to the Pilots & Capt. Ayres that can be devis'd—a proof of which is that a few days since the Ship Montague, Capt. Pickles, came off our Coast & was hailed by several Pilots, but upon his Answering from London none went on board for some time, till at last one Pilot did who refus'd to bring the ship up further than Bombay-hook, altho' the Capt. let him search the Ship & even threatened the Pilot's Life, to which the poor Fellow answer'd He was as willing to lose it there as at Philada. and the Capt. let him send his Boat up for permission to bring the Montague to Philada. where she arrived this Morning. At least this is the Acc't we have & don't doubt the Truth of it.

Another matter we can inform you of, that P. Benozot and some others who have goods on board have met and agreed not to Demand a

delivery of them but let them go with the Ship & Tea, and further we may add that we do not as yet find that the Executive part of Government here, have the least Intention to interfere or move in Opposition to this in our Opinion Ill Advis'd & desperate project of preventing the Ship coming up &c.

An immediate application from us to the Gov'r would have been made before now, requesting his interposition & authority to enable Capt. Ayres to enter this port with security & land the Cargo of Tea peaceably & quietly, but such a step would undoubtedly have made the Town too hot for us, tho' it was & is our judgment that there is a propriety in this Measure & would become us as real Friends to our Country.

As an application of this sort was at this time deemed highly imprudent, we concluded to call a number of the weighty Inhabitants together on the 3rd Inst. & lay before them every material part of the Comm'n intrusted to us by the E. India Company. Among those that met was James Allen, Esqr., the Gov'r's bro-in-law—& several of his Club Companions, so that he will in this way be fully inform'd of the matter & we are the more clear of being censured for keeping any knowledge we had of it from him or his intimate Friends.

We remain your most assured Frds.

12 Mo. 7th, 1773. Copy of a Letter to Pigon & Booth, N. Y.

PHILADA., 16th of 12th Mo. 1773.

Esteemed Friends,

PIGON & BOOTH, New York.

We have your Fav'r of 15th Instant and Observe the small progress of your Association on which some of the Associators we have reason to believe about a Week since of carrying their point; at least one or more of them wrote so here. And that the Bostonians have given 20 days before the Ships with the Tea are to depart from that Town in which time they Expect to know the Resolutions of the other Colonies—tho' of this they will before this be fully inform'd of we take for granted. In which we know not of the least alteration, and that as matters stand now, we believe no man can consistent with his peace & safety even speak to any Pilot or Boat to go down, and further that if He did no Boatman would undertake it, however of that shall consider further and advise.

As to our good Frd. J. D., shall be attentive thereto as the case may require and our great Regard & Esteem for him & you may need.

We remain with true regard

Your assured ready Frds.

PHILADA., 12th Mo. 17th, 1773.

TO THE BOSTON COMMISSIONERS:

Respected Friends,—

We have, with the other Agents in this City appointed by the Directors of the East India Company, received your favours dated at Castle-William the 4th Instant, and after repeated interviews with part of the Agents & a conference had yesterday with all of them it seems unlikely, that a joint Letter will be framed & subscribed to that will inform you fully of the Conduct of the Consignees here, which may in some Measure apologize for our not writing to you sooner.

As it must have been reported to you long ere this, that the Agents in this City, have been treated by the public, as having acted a different part on this trying occasion, it will readily occur to you where the difficulty lay upon their essaying a joint Letter. We therefore thought it best to give a plain & concise narrative of what we have done. And the other Agents may if they think it proper lay their Conduct as openly before you.

It is now about three months since our Public Prints were first furnish'd with pieces wrote with an intention to create a Spirit of opposition to the measure agreed on by the E. I. Company. Since then they have with little or no interruption been continued weekly & many separate printed papers have been distributed in this province, wrote to answer the same Purpose.

The Inhabitants of this Province were notified by a printed publication very generally distributed in this City & near it, to meet at the State House on the 16th day of October to consider what Measures would be necessary to prevent the Landing of the Teas. The Votes & Resolutions of that Meeting having been published we refer you to them. A committee of twelve persons were then appointed and eleven of them call'd on us on the 18th day of October & after reading to us said Votes & Resolves & leaving a Copy required our immediate resignation without allowing us any time to consider of an Answer. Much conversation passed between the Committee & us, a small part of which was by them committed to Writing & then they proceeded to Thomas & Isaac Wharton's & we believe made the like requisition of them as they had done of us. In the Evening a great number of people were collected at our Coffee House, expecting the Report of the Committee. They, for some Reasons best known to themselves & the Whartons' (we mean to keep closely to Facts) did not publish the Answer made by the latter, tho' taken down in writing, but made the following Report.

....The 19th of October Jon'n Browne came in from the Country and Upon the Committees' calling upon him (as he told us yesterday), they put many questions to him, to which he did not return satisfactory answers, but that he had at length agreed to the Answer made by T. & J. W. tho' the Words of that Answer were still kept from the Public,—

& it was well known that the Public had been led on to treat us with great severity at the same time that the Whartons were much applauded, on Acc't of our respective Answers. And notwithstanding our reiterated application to have a Copy of these Answers we have not as yet been able to obtain them. This is certain, they have been deem'd so full, that they T. & J. W. & J. B. have never been called on again.

From this time to the 3rd Instant we were exposed to much abuse. On that day we rec'd by the Post from N. York a Duplicate of the Instructions of the Court of Directors of the E. I. Company respecting the Teas they had shipp'd in the Ship Polly, Cap't Ayres, for this Port. It was soon made known that the Consignees were no longer in doubt as to their appointm't & that the Teas were coming out subject to the American Duty of 3 d. Stg. per pound. We had engaged that upon the arrival of the Teas & upon our being duly inform'd of our appointm't to the Agency, we would act openly & acquaint the public the part we would take. Upon this ground we were urged immediately to satisfy their impatience,—so that a very short time was afforded us to draw up & present to the public what we did, a Copy of which you will find annexed. It soon appeared that strong exceptions were taken to some parts of that paper. But what was said as to receiving & storing the Teas was from a motive we hope never to be obliged to depart from. Since that time we have not discovered any material alteration in the dispositions of the people of this City.

We have avoided mentioning our Colleagues more than was necessary to explain our own conduct & situation, yet it is but justice to ourselves to add that before our being applied to by the Committee on the 18th of October, the Agents did all seriously agree that they would not, if so required, resign until they had a full confirmation from England of their being appointed to this Commission & were inform'd under what circumstances the Teas were coming out. Their Reasons for delaying a definite Answer were these—That the people would have time to think coolly on the matter & afterwards be likely to determine with most prudence thereon, & also that if we should make so early & unreasonable a Resignation it would be sent forward & held up as a Precedent at N. York & Boston.

Thus far it seem'd necessary for us to relate that you might know what our Conduct has been & discern without our comments, the motives which have govern'd us. Conscious we are, that we have endeavor'd faithfully to guard our Fellow Citizens & ourselves from being led into any rash Measures that might hereafter Reproach us.

We sincerely sympathize with you under your late Tryals & wish you happily clear of them, being very respectfully,

Your assured Frds.

J.

P. S.

As we are not certain that our Colleagues will join us in a Letter to you, or write to you separately, we think it may be proper to add to the above, that one of the Agents, Gilbert Barkley, is expected from England in the Tea Ship, the Polly, Cap't Ayres, whose arrival may be hourly look'd for. At present it seems very unlikely she will ever come up our Bay & River. The Pilots, we have heard, will carefully avoid offering their assistance & the Capt. will be likely to hear so much of the Temper of the people here as to make him very cautious of coming into this Port.

To give you a specimen of some of our Publications, we have added a Copy of a Printed Paper, directed to the Delaware Pilots & Cap't Ayres, which we have been told have been distributed among the Pilots & that they will pay a strict regard to them. [See pages 48, 49.—Ed.]

December 17th, 1773. Copy of our Letter to Thomas & Elisha Hutchinson & others, Esqrs.

PHILADA., 18th of 12th Mo., 1773.

Esteemed Friends,

PIGON & BOOTH, New York.

We wrote you the 16th Instant when we gave you our first tho'ts on your request to send down to Cap't Ayres when He arrives in our River, for the Goods your House shipp'd to different people here.

Since which we have frequently tho't further about it and our great regard for your House hath accompanied our Considerations thereon, & it now stands with us in this very serious View, that is, That in all Probability on the first Application to a Boatman he would refuse to be concerned and divulge it immediately, from whence many misrepresentations would flow which in a matter while the Peoples minds are so much agitated, would take many days to set right. But if the Boatman should undertake and succeed, (altho' we must Observe that thy Letter to the Capt., only desires him to deliver the Goods on his Arrival at this Port), the delivery to him would we apprehend discharge the Capt. and end the risque to the present [obscured] which otherwise would rest where it was, and we are not clear that the Goods would not be meddled with by the Multitude as there would hardly be a possibility of removing a jealousy which some of the People have not been clear of, that some of the Tea will be got on shore, and the poor men who had done it might, indeed we may say would, in all Probability, undergo hard discipline. The Order for all which would sooner or later be known to come from your House which we would wish to stand better than it then would with the People of this City, and all the Mischief arising from the Measure would by many of them be laid to you and us. Between us when we say that we are too well convinced to doubt that the least move on our part will be likely to produce a Train of Mischiefs which nothing but the fullest Conviction of Duty should lead us to

risque & if these Hints should carry conviction to you that it is best to let the matter rest & leave it to us if we see it can be done with safety (if the Ship arrives at this Port) to do it or otherwise let it alone at our best discretion, you will please to write us accordingly. And in meantime shall consider further on a matter we think of such very great Consequences to you and your

Very sincere & affect. Frds.

18th of 12th Mo., 1773. Copy of Letter to P. & Booth of New York.

NEW YORK, 20th December 1773.

Sirs,—

We have received your favour of the 16th current; and the same Post brought us a letter from our mutual friend Mr. J. D. which will require no immediate answer, if you will be pleased to tell him we have received it, and are satisfied with the contents. We are particularly obliged to you for the part you have undertaken, in which you have done more than we either desired or expected.

We gave you a false alarm last post, about the Tea Ship; it proved to be a Vessel in distress, which the Man of War had lent assistance to; but the report had gone thro' the whole Town, before it was contradicted. It is fortunate that she is not yet arrived, for on Friday last, the hot-headed ones would have a meeting at the City-hall, where it was carried by vote, amidst noise and confusion, to oppose the landing of the Tea; in the evening the Committee of the Association met, and divided in their opinions; one party was for a peaceable landing, the other was for opposing it. Upon which Philip Livingston, David Van Horne, Leonard Lisponard, Isaac Low, and indeed all the weighty members of the Committee, resigned their appointments, and another Association is set on foot, to preserve the peace of the City. The terms of this Association are now in the press. If the Copies are out in time, you will have one enclosed. This association will be signed by the members of his Majesty's Council, and all their Friends; indeed it behoves the Council to be very active in promoting it, for the Governor has declared that every man of them, together with the Mayor, the High Sheriff &c shall attend in person to protect the Tea while it is landed; and then, if a Military power should be necessary, they will be compelled to ask it, for their own security.

We are, Sirs,

Your most obed't Serv'ts

PIGON & BOOTH.

We should do so much honour to Gov'r Tryon's sentiments, as to mention this declaration of his: that it is not because the Tea belongs to the East India Company, that he is so anxious for its safety; but if it was

the property of a private person, and that person should be a Foreigner, utterly unknown in the British dominions, he is of opinion, that the Law of Nations, and the rights of humanity would demand his protection.

To

MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER

Merchants in
Philadelphia.

Post goes $\frac{3}{4}$ past 4.

New York, 20th Decem., 1773. Pigon & Booth to James & Drinker.

12 Mo. 24th, 1773.

Esteemed Friends,

We have your two favors of 20th & 22nd instant. The Alarm which generally spread here, that your Tea Ship was arrived, we found fixed a belief in most, that the Tea would be deposited in your Fort. Now again, it is said by some, that the opposition gains head at your place and that the Tea when it arrives will certainly be sent back. This Post we look'd for with a degree of Anxious expectation, supposing we should hear the Terms of your second Association set on foot for preserving the Peace of the City, which we had reason to expect would be subscribed or assented to by the Worthy and Sensible Inhabitants of New York—Those who had no Sinister Ends to serve, but that of preserving the Peace and Reputation of your Province. Your silence on this head is a disappointment to us. As we have no intelligence of the Polly Captain Ayres, Conversation on this important Subject has flag'd for a few days past & wonderful to tell William Bradford was heard to say to a Pilot a few days past, that the Tea Ship ought to be permitted to come up.

The intelligence convey'd in your last is indeed astonishing, and must to every serious mind, viewing it in its present light and the Consequences of such an Act of Temerity & Injustice, be cause of deep concern;—and are these the Guardians of our liberties? Are they to be patterns & way marks for the other Colonies? Avert it Heaven.—But it may perhaps be said, who in the present instance, leap'd the bounds of Reason, Prudence & indeed common sense & led the way, was it Boston or Pensilvania?

We are your affectionate Friends.

24th of 12th Mo., 1773. Copy of letter to P. & Booth of New York.

[The tea ship arrived on the 25th of 12 Mo. Following is a copy of a bill of lading for goods which went back to London in her. T. B. T.]

Shipped, by the Grace of God, in good Order and Condition, by Pigon & Booth, in and upon the good

Ship called the Polly, whereof is Master, under God, for this present Voyage, Samuel Ayres, and now riding at Anchor in the River Thames, and by God's Grace bound for Philadelphia, to say One Cask & Two Boxes of Merchandize and Thirty-Seven Baskets Cheese, being mark'd and number'd as in the Margin, and are to be delivered in the like good Order and Condition, at the aforesaid Port of Philadelphia (the Danger of the Seas only excepted) unto Messrs. James & Drinker or to their Assigns, Freight for the said Goods being paid, with Primage and Average accustom'd. In witness whereof the Master or Purser of the said Ship hath affirm'd to 2 Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date; the one of which 2 Bills being accomplish'd, the other to stand void. And so God send the good Ship to her desired Port in Safety. Amen. Dated in
Lond'n, 18. Sept. 1773.

SAM'L AYRES.

B O 1 Cask
S R 1 Box
2 Box
O 1 a 37-37 Baskets

PHILADA., 28th Dec. 1773

Gentlemen,

The 2nd Instant, Duplicate of your Esteemed Fa'r of 1st Oct. to Thos. & Isaac Wharton, Gilbert Barkley, Jonathan Browne and ourselves reached our hands & the 26th Original was handed to us by Gilbert Barkley, who we understand was to leave this City to-morrow morning in order to return on the Polly for London, but He has just now been with us to inform us that He must depart in two hours which does not leave us time by this Conveyance to write you fully on the succession of Occurrences which have pass'd here since the Resolutions of the Hon'ble East India Company were known to Export Teas to this & other places on the Continent for Sale.

The Result of which, as to this City, is that the People have determined that the Polley shall not come up, nor the Capt. be permitted to enter his cargo at the Custom House, but must immediately return to London. And we are under the disagreeable necessity to say that the People are & have been so unanimous in their Resolutions to that Effect that it was out of our power to Execute your Commission or Attempt to promote the Landing & Storing of the Teas with Security to ourselves or your Property, altho' we delay'd giving up that, to us, reasonable &

just measure as long as we could, but on the Arrival of the October Packet at New York & the Letters by her reaching this City, a great Number of the Inhabitants (not of a mean Class) collected together at the Coffee House & in a very disagreeable & preremitory manner sent to us for a Declaration of the Part we would Act, upon which we sent them a few Lines wrote in less time than we could have Wish'd had been allow'd us, a Copy of which we Inclose, and beg leave for the present to refer to the Public Prints & the information you will receive from our Frd. G. Barkley for the State of Matters amongst us concerning this to us very distressing Occurrence & remain with great Regard and Esteem
Your assured Faithful Frds.

The Hon'ble the Court

of Directors of the United Comp'y of Merch'ts of Eng'd
Trading to the East Indies.

Dec. 28, 1773. Copy of letter to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Co. Orig. per G. Barkley Esq.

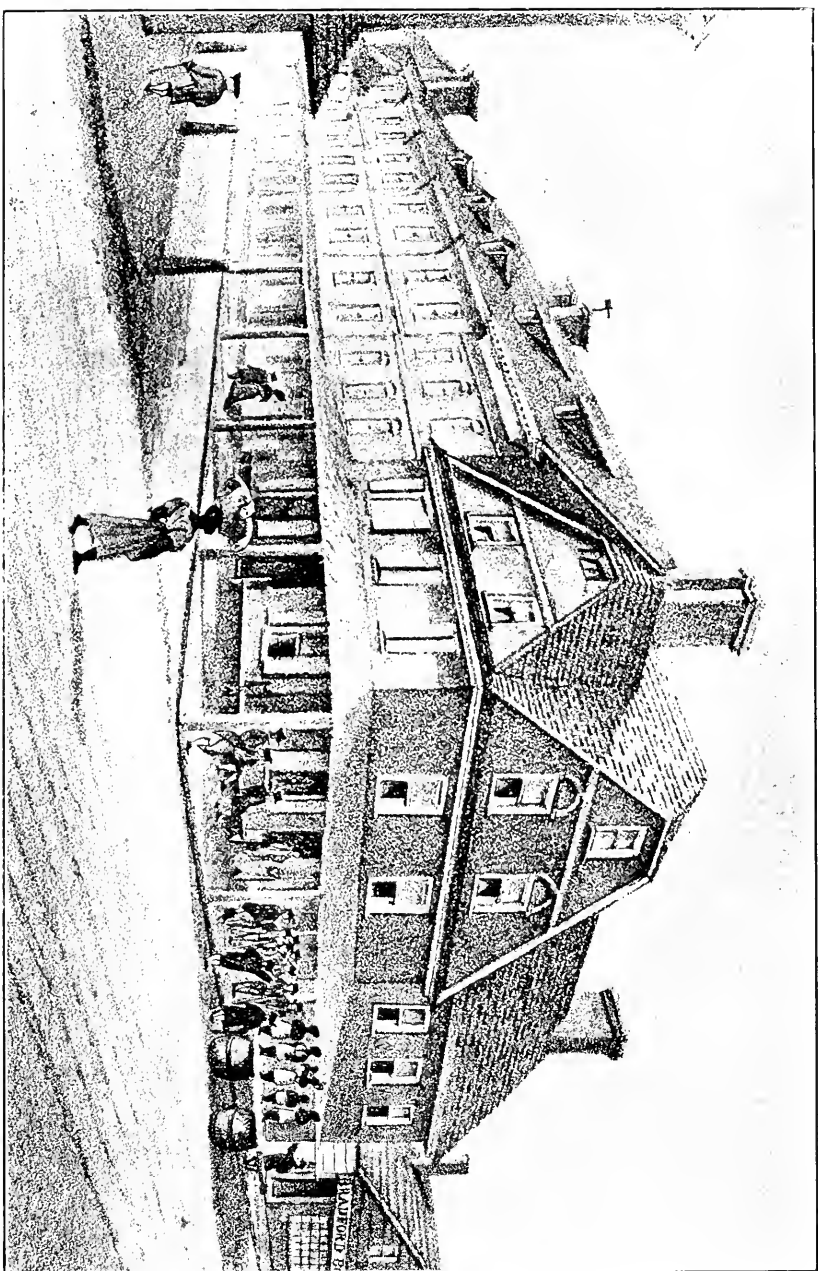
PHILADA., 12 Mo. 28th, 1773.

Esteemed Friends,

PIGON & BOOTH, New York.

The last post we wrote you a few Lines, soon after which we found Bradford publish'd the Acc't of the Destruction of the Tea at Boston & to our Surprise and great Concern the Church Bells were order'd to Ring and other public Approbation was shown at the Coffee House on the Occasion, and we have not learn'd that many people who Stir about much and Converse freely on Subjects with their fellow Citizens, express their disapprobation of it or seem apprehensive of disagreeable proceedings on the part of our Mother Country on that Account

The 25th Instant in the Evening an account came to the Coffee House that the Tea Ship was at Chester having follow'd up a Ship of much greater draft of Water, as the Pilots refus'd taking charge of the Ship, at which time the Committee were sitting who determined that next day several of them would go down and meet her and Enjoin the Capt. to send his ship down to Ready Island and require him at his Peril not to attempt to Enter at the Custom House, but allow him a few Hours to protest & be furnished with necessaries and then to follow the Ship and proceed back to London. While this was in Agitation Acc't came that the Ship was at Gloucester point, upon which a Number of the Committee went there follow'd by many people, where Chas. Thompson let the Capt. know the above determination of the Committee & took his Engagement that He would not attempt to Enter at the Custom House, and then bro't him up to this City and Yesterday a large number of People were call'd together in the Yard of the State House by Printed Notices & the Public Crier going thro' the City, when they entered into



THE LONDON COFFEE HOUSE (SEE PAGE 42)

certain Resolutions which we have not yet obtained Copies of, but they were in Substance that the Ship should Depart next Tide & Capt. Ayres this Day, & we are just now inform'd by Gilbert Barkley that He is determined to return in the Ship to London & Expects to go at 3 o'clock this Afternoon.

As the Ship was not admitted to an Entry, the Goods on board could not be landed, nor dare any man from all we have heard ask it.

We are now to set about writing a few short Letters to London by G. Barkley, & therefore our shortness by this Post will be excus'd by you. We learn that C. Bradford set off Yesterday with an Acc't of what was done, and to strengthen the Opposition to the landing the Tea with you. We need not say what would have been its Fate had it been Attempted here.

The foregoing was wrote the 28 when we Expected the Post would have been in that day, but the great fall of Snow, prevented his being here before last night between 9 & 10 o'clock when He bro't us the letters by the Nov'r Packet, but none from your house at New York, nor have we heard anything what measures are pursuing in your City since your last, save that the Association paper you told us was talk'd of, was sign'd by only Eight persons & that no more could be Obtain'd. We send Inclos'd the printed Acc't of the proceedings here, as it may be more easy & Agreeable to you to have them in that way than to wait until you can see the News Papers.

From thence you may Observe the unkind way in which the Committee or at least the Writers for the Public have treated us, which we must bear as well as we can, Conscious that none of them love their Country or desire its real prosperity & the preservation of its Liberties more than we do, and that their displeasure arises from our not immediately resigning our Trust & acknowledging the Rectitude of their Resolutions. We have been much concerned that your B. Booth may get well thro' this distressing business & Assure you that we are with best regards

Your affect. Friends.

December 28th, 1773. Letter to Pigon & Booth of New York.

NEW YORK, 31st Decem'r, 1773.

Sirs,—

We have received your esteemed Favour of the 24th current. We should have wrote you fully respecting the second Association, had not the news from Boston and Charlestown given so different a turn to people's sentiments, that it was impossible to write you on the subject without misleading you. We are now told that the Tea Ship will certainly go back, after being supplied with necessaries at the Hook; that the Governor will be advised by his Council, not to attempt the landing

of the Tea, as it will only tend to throw the Province into a Flame, without doing the India Company any essential service; and we have reason to believe there is good ground for this information. The friends of Government from all we can learn, have now given up the point; they would not wish to see its weakness further exposed by any unsuccessful attempts towards landing and protecting the Tea, without particular orders from home for that purpose. The Opposition which they formerly considered as partial, and local, they now look upon as general, and Continental.

These Sentiments, which now seem to be generally embraced by the Council, appear to have been rather fondly and hastily taken up; to be sure their prospect was very unpleasing; they expected nothing less than to attend the Governor in landing the Tea, and until some of them had had their brains knock'd out by Stones and Brickbats, it would not have been thought expedient to call a Military force. For our part, we tremble to think of the consequences that may result from the apparent success of the opposition. Those who have appeared as Actors in it, are chiefly the outcasts of Society, and they have aimed at carrying all their points, by putting individuals in fear of their lives. Upon the same principles, fifteen or twenty Persons might give their notes of hand, or even coin false money and by distributing a share of it among a number of their dependants, they may give it a Currency and compell the people to take it, in opposition to all the powers of Government.

We are,

Sirs,

Your most obed't Serv'ts

PIGON & BOOTH.

To

MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER

Merchants in

Philadelphia.

New York, 31st Dec'r, 1773. Pigon & Booth to James & Drinker.

PHILADA., 3rd of 1st Mo. 1774.

Esteemed Friends,

We duly rec'd your Fav'r of 31st Dec. and are Oblig'd to you for the Acc't you give us of the State of the times amongst you which are much as we Expected to have rec'd from the Acc't given us by the Public.

A report prevails here that the Tea Ship at South Carolina was entered at the Custom House and that it look'd likely the People would let it be landed—a Letter from Chas. Allen (a Young Man went from hence to Chas. Town) to W. Smith, the Broker, says so to that Effect, & that such prudential Considerations weigh'd with them, as, if it was Oppos'd an Additional Duty would be laid by the Parliament of G.

Britain on Rice & the bounty on Indigo withdrawn &c. &c. Much Concern is express'd on Acc't of this Prospect as it will not leave the thing so general on the Continent as was reckon'd on.

How does our own Conduct on the Whole stand with the Commissioners at N. York? If it is favorable would not a Line from them to the Directors to that Effect be what you would wish? & would it not Obviate the many cruel & Insidious Misrepresentations given of it by the Opposition? Your B. B's Attention thereto will be taken very kind—and even his representation in our Fav'r as far as is Consistant (sic) with his Judgment will be very Obliging. We are with unalterable Regard

Your Assured Friends.

P. S. A Brig., Cap't Ashmead is to sail in a few days for London, say 6 Instant.

3rd of 1st Mo., 1774. Letter to Pigon & Booth, New York.

NEW YORK, 7th Jan'y, 1774.

Sirs,—

I had the pleasure to write you last Post, since which I have met the Commissioners, to write our Letters by the Packet; which we finished without much difficulty, but not without some altercation. I found the Letter to Captain Lockyer, was considered as a popular measure, and calculated to make us stand high in the favour of the people; not without an eye to the ensuing general election. To my great surprise and indignation, a Draught of it was produced ready for signing, wrote I conceive by a Presbyterian Lawyer, giving the Captain a long, ridiculous account of a combination, between the Ministry and the Company, to enslave America; a Copy of this Letter was to be sent to the Court of Directors, and strange to tell, my Colleagues were so far wrought upon, as to be induced to sign it. There was no standing this; flesh and blood could not bear it. To be short, I acted with so much spirit and resolution that I overruled every part of it, and confined the Letter to a short, plain and simple account of the facts, that have occurred on this side of the Water. * * * * *

As I am not altogether satisfied with our last Letter to the Company, I have written one to Mr. Pigon by the Packet, with a view of it's being laid before them; this Letter I closed with the undermentioned paragraph, and shall be glad to find it meets with your approbation.

It appears by a moderate computation that each House here has given up 1000 Guineas per Annum, in resigning this Commission, which is no small sacryfice (?) and it sticks in our stomachs to such a degree, that we can barely speak of it with temper.

I am for F. Pigon & Self

Sirs,

Your most obed't Serv't,

BEN BOOTH.

PIGON & BOOTH, New York.

"Our friends Messrs. James & Drinker have been much abused in the Philadelphia News Papers, for refusing to be driven on with the Tide of popular clamour, contrary to their judgment; which they have thought it most prudent to take no notice of for the present; but the same paragraphs may be transcribed into the London News Papers, and give an unfavourable impression of their conduct; to prevent this, they have desired me to let you know the sentiments of the Commissioners here on this head. Without entering particularly into the subject, which is long and tedious, we think the whole of their conduct has been noble and manly, and such as would do them honour to come before any body of Men upon Earth, except an assembly of Madmen."

To

MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER

Merch'ts in

Philadelphia.

New York, 7th Jan'y, 1774, Benj. Booth to James and Drinker.

ADDENDA:—The following additional particulars relating to the ill-fated shipment of tea to Philadelphia are culled from the collection in Drake's "Tea Leaves,"—a copy of which may be found in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The great number of applications to the East India Company there recorded shows that the competition was keen for the appointments as tea commissioner and also for the transportation of the tea.

T. B. T.

Letters from Fredk. Pigon, Jr., in London:—

Gentlemen:—

Being informed you intend to export teas to several different settlements in America, to be sold there under the direction of agents to be appointed, I beg leave to acquaint the Court that I have a house established in New York, under the firm of Pigon & Booth, and I humbly solicit the favor of that house having a share of the consignments.

Philadelphia being also a port to which the Company will most likely send teas, I beg leave to recommend Messrs. James & Drinker, of that city, to be one of your agents there.

Should I be so happy to succeed in my request I am certain the greatest attention will be paid by those gentlemen to the Company's orders, and that the Company's interest will be made their study in the sales and remittances.

I also beg leave to observe that if ships should be wanted for this service, I have vessels now ready for the ports of Philadelphia and New York.

I am, gentlemen,

Yr. most obed't & very humble serv't,

Fred'k Pigon, Jun'r.

Mark Lane, 1st June, 1773.

To the Hon'ble the Court of
Directors of the United East
India Company.

Tea Leaves,—p. 208-9.

London, 8 July, 1773.

To the Hon'ble Com'tee of

Warehouses—

Gentlemen:—

We beg leave to recommend Messrs. James & Drinker, of Philadelphia, to be one of your agents at the disposal of teas, which you may think proper to send to Philadelphia, undertaking that they shall dispose of such teas in no other manner than as you direct, on condition of your allowing them 5 pr. cent. for commission, for selling and making remittance, and 1 pr. cent. for truckage, warehouse rent or any charge whatever; should any teas get damaged on board of ships, any expence arising on them to be allowed by the Company. We do also engage, that in two months after the prompt day, remittance in bills or specie, shall be made to the Company, provided the teas are cleared, the specie to be at the risk of the Company, they paying the charges attending it. We further agree, that in case any bills are protested, we will pay the Company the amount of them in two months after they become due. And we are willing to enter into bond for the performance of the agreements, provided the Directors think proper to allow the teas to be sent to any other port, if the Pensilvanians refuse to admit the duty to be paid, or to consume them in that country, in the latter case our bond to be void.

We are, &c.

Pigon & Booth.

Tea Leaves,—p. 232.

We beg leave to solicit the
freight to Pensilvania.

Sir:—

Please to acquaint the Hon'ble Com'tee of Warehouses that we have taken up the Polly, Cap't Ayres, for Philadelphia, to carry the Company's

tea to that port, which vessel lays at Princes Stairs, Rotherhith, and was built at Ipswich, in the year 1765. She is now ready to take in.

We are, sirs,

Your most h'ble serv'ts,

Pigon & Booth

For selves & Geo Browne,
Sam'l Wharton & Gilbert
Barkley.

Mark Lane,
31st Aug., 1773.
Mr. Wm. Settle.

Tea Leaves,—p. 254

The cargoe of tea aboard the "Polly":—
"Freight of 568 whole & 130 half chests
of tea shipped on the Polly, Capt.
Sam'l. Ayres, for Philada." "9405.3
ft. @ 1 s. 6 p. pr. foot Phila. Cur-
rency, is L 705-7-10½."

Tea Leaves,—p. 256.

T O T H E Delaware Pilots.

WE took the Pleasure, some Days since, of kindly admonishing you *to do your Duty*; if perchance you should meet with the (*Tea,*) SHIP POLLY, CAPTAIN AYRES; a THREE DECKER which is hourly expected.

We have now to add, that Matters ripen fast here; and that *much is expected from those Lads who meet with the Tea Ship.*----There is some Talk of A HANDSOME REWARD FOR THE PILOT WHO GIVES THE FIRST GOOD ACCOUNT OF HER.----How that may be, we cannot *for certain* determine; But ALL agree, that TAR and FEATHERS will be his Portion, who pilots her into this Harbour. And we will answer for ourselves, that, whoever is committed to us, as an Offender against the Rights of *America*, will experience the utmost Exertion of our Abilities; as

THE COMMITTEE FOR TARRING AND FEATHERING.

P. S. We expect you will furnish yourselves with Copies of the foregoing and following Letter; which are printed for this Purpose, that the Pilot who meets with Captain *Ayres* may favor him with a Sight of them.

Committee of Taring and Feathering.

T O
Capt. AYRES,

Of the SHIP *POLLY*, on a Voyage from *London* to *Philadelphia*.

SIR,

WE are informed that you have, imprudently, taken Charge of a Quantity of Tea; which has been sent out by the *India Company*, under the *Auspices of the Ministry*, as a Trial of *American* Virtue and Resolution.

Now, as your Cargo, on your Arrival here, will most assuredly bring you into hot water; and as you are perhaps a Stranger to *these Parts*, we have concluded to advise you of the present Situation of Affairs in *Philadelphia*---that, taking Time by the Forelock, you may stop short in your dangerous Errand---secure your Ship against the Rafts of combustible Matter which may be set on Fire, and turned loose against her; and more than all this, that you preserve your own Person, from the Pitch and Feathers that are prepared for you.

In the first Place, we must tell you, that the *Pennsylvanians* are, to a Man, passionately fond of Freedom; the Birthright of *Americans*; and at all Events are determined to enjoy it.

That they sincerely believe, no Power on the Face of the Earth has a Right to tax them without their Consent.

That in their Opinion, the Tea in your Custody is designed by the Ministry to enforce such a Tax, which they will undoubtedly oppose; and in so doing, give you every possible Obstruction.

We are nominated to a very disagreeable, but necessary Service.---- To our Care are committed all Offenders against the Rights of *America*; and hapless is he, whose evil Destiny has doomed him to suffer at our Hands.

You are sent out on a diabolical Service; and if you are so foolish and obstinate as to compleat your Voyage; by bringing your Ship to Anchor in this Port; you may run such a Gauntlet, as will induce you, in your last Moments, most heartily to curse those who have made you the Dupe of their Avarice and Ambition.

What think you Captain, of a Halter around your Neck---ten Gallons of liquid Tar decanted on your Pate---with the Feathers of a dozen wild Geese laid over that to enliven your Appearance?

Only think seriously of this---and fly to the Place from whence you came---fly without Hesitation---without the Formality of a Protest---and above all, Captain *Ayres* let us advise you to fly without the wild Geese Feathers.

Your Friends to serve

THE COMMITTEE as before subscribed.

Philadelphia, Nov. 27, 1773

NOTES AND QUERIES.

QUAKER MEMBERSHIP OF BENJAMIN WEST.—This question does not appear to be settled to the satisfaction of all. That he was not a member was owing to the fact that his parents were not members at his birth and no application for membership was ever made for or by him. His mother was disowned about the time of her marriage and his father did not become a member until long after the son's birth. It remains to explain why he claimed to be and was willing to be classed as a Friend. In this respect he was like many at the present day. His relatives were Friends and he was doubtless brought up in the attendance of their meetings, and so had no affiliations with any other sect. I have frequently been told by persons that they were rightfully Friends because, as they thought, their parents were such, when I knew that the latter were merely attenders of the meetings for worship, of the Society.

GILBERT COPE.

BENJAMIN WEST.—As a contribution to the discussion as to whether or not Benjamin West was a Friend the following copied from "A Book for a Rainy Day," p. 90, is interesting. Benjamin West said: "Sir, I was once a Quaker and have never left their principles."

I. S.

"A BOOK FOR A RAINY DAY."—This book was written by John Thomas Smith (1766-1833) who was "Keeper of Prints and Drawings" in the British Museum, 1816-1833. He was the author of several works, the best known are "A Book for a Rainy Day," 1828; "Nollekens and his Times," 1828; "An Antiquarian Ramble in the Streets of London," published after his death, and edited by Charles Mackay, in 1846. He was a topographical draughtsman and antiquarian. He occupied a prominent position in the literary circles of the London of his day. Ed.

MEMBERSHIP IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.—The statement in the last Bulletin (p. 124), that "birth-right membership was not recognized officially by Friends until 1737," may cause misapprehension on the part of the casual reader. While there may not have been any authoritative declaration on the subject yet the practice of the Society was in favor of the idea of birthright membership. As early at least as 1715 testimonies of disownment set forth that the offender was "born of believing parents," thus giving that as the foundation of his or her membership.

The subject is worthy of study. My conclusions are that during the times of persecution there

was no need to question the membership of any who were willing to bear the suffering and opprobrium resulting from their attendance of meetings; and for many years after those who attended and appeared concerned to uphold the testimonies of Friends were gradually looked upon as members without any formal application or admission. Then followed applications not minuted and later their entry on the minutes of monthly meetings. Friends welcomed the attendance of any persons at their meetings for worship, and as children were not expected to attend meetings of business their membership was not questioned. The following examples are from records of meetings belonging to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

At Kennet Monthly Meeting, 11 Mo. 7, 1726:—"The preparative meeting of Newark recommends John Carlton to this meeting for a privilage of one to sitt in the meeting of business which is allowed."

This is the first minute of the kind in Kennet. The first noticed in Chester appears 5 Mo. 29, 1728, and in Goshen 7 Mo. 11, 1732; but at Chester the minute is preceded by this statement:—"Whereas this meeting have not been in the practice of entering those upon record that makes application to be Joyned to and come under friends Care now takes the same into Consideration & unanimously agree that an entry be made of those that make such application."

I do not remember any applica-

tions for membership by those whose births were recorded by Friends except in two or three cases where the child was removed to another meeting while small. On the other hand there were numerous disownments of the children of members, some of them minors, whose previous membership was thus recognized, as early as 1710.

Our whole church policy is the result of a gradual evolution from a chaotic beginning.

In former times it was not thought proper that the laity should read the Bible, and there has been much of the same feeling in regard to the records of Friends. I would like to see the minutes of the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, and of other Yearly Meetings printed for one hundred and fifty years at least.

GILBERT COPE.

HANNAH FEAKE.—On page 45, Vol. 2, of the *Bulletin*, mention is made of the marriage of John Bowne to Hannah Pheaks; her name was Feake.

Henry Winthrop married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Jones, of London, in 1629, and was drowned in Boston harbor the same year. His widow married Robert Feake, who afterwards moved to Watertown, Conn.: they had Elizabeth, who married Captain John Underhill, and Hannah, married to John Bowne, of Flushing.

CHARLES COLLINS.

New York, 14-12-08.

HANNAH FEAKE, OR FEAKS, OR FEEKS, OR PHEAKS.—Our correspondent in the note above, hardly gives sufficient weight to the erratic spelling of the day. The author of the paper on "John Bowne of Flushing" (Vol. II, No. 2) undoubtedly found the spelling he gave among the family papers; he was a careful student and investigator, and was, moreover, himself a descendant of Hannah Feake (or Pheaks). There is in the possession of the Editor the Marriage Certificate of Isaac Hornor and Eleanor (Bowne) Hornor, daughter of Samuel Bowne, dated Flushing, "the ninth day of ye Eight monyth [October], 1718." Among the witnesses is "Abigail Feeks." In the body of the document Eleanor appears as "Elenar," and also as "Elener," and Hornor as "Horner" and "Harner." There is a strong probability that the "Abigail Feeks" was of the same family as the wife of John Bowne.

EDITOR.

A QUAKER MARRIAGE ABOUT 1817.—[The Diary of Lady Charlotte Bury is a gossiping, rambling account of the Court and fashionable society during the reign of George IV. While it is not very reliable in many points, it gives a lively picture of society and throws much light on the time. It has long been out of print, but a new edition has recently appeared (1908) and has excited considerable interest. It is quite evident that the memory of the narrator has been imper-

fect, for several essential details are omitted. As the account of an uninstructed outsider it is worth reprinting.—Ed]

"Mr — also told me that a great proportion of his tenants are Quakers, and not the most peaceably inclined set of people. I asked him about their customs, and he gave me an account of a Quaker's wedding: 'It is a mighty *humdrum* business. The meeting-house is always crowded, all the FRIENDS being assembled whenever one of their sect marries. There is no pulpit, but where it is usually situated stands a small table, with a green cloth and an inkstand. The bride sits between the bridegroom and her mother, with her face so concealed that it cannot be seen during the ceremony. She usually wears a pale gray gown, a cap, and a white shawl, with a large veil thrown over her head and face. After sitting *mute* for three quarters of an hour, one of the "friends" is generally moved by the Spirit, and ejaculates accordingly. The couple then take one another by the hand, and sign a paper, after which one of the congregation says a prayer and the ceremony is concluded. The Quakers in my neighborhood,' he added, 'are all very rich and powerful; but a sad radical set in their political opinions.'" (December 12, 1817.)*

*"Diary of the Times of George the Fourth," etc. (commonly known as Diary of Lady Charlotte Bury). Vol. 3: 277 278. London, 1839.

EXTRACT FROM THE WILL OF BENJAMIN CLAPP.—This will was dated February 20, 1726-7, and was proved August 13, 1727, in Westchester County, New York. Among the items is the following: "I give to my friends called Quakers, the sum of £10 towards the building of a meeting house, [at Purchase?] which meeting house is to be built between John Clapp's and Benjamin Berchan's, on a piece of land already layed out for that use." [Benjamin Clapp appears to be the fourth in descent from George Gilson Clapp the original emigrant who came to America in 1666 or 1667.] Collections N. Y. Historical Society, 1902, p. 45.

EXTRACT FROM THE WILL OF HUGH COWPERTHWAIT OF FLUSHING, N. Y.—"Dated this 28 day of the second month, called April, 1730." Proved June 3, 1730. One of the witnesses was John Bowne.

"I leave to Joseph Rodman, Thomas Farrington, and Samuel Bowne, £100, in trust for ye use of ye Poor amongst Friends (commonly called Quakers) in ye Province of New York. To be paid after the marriage of my wife or within one year after her decease. And the said sum is to be put out at interest for the said Poor, and to be continued at interest forever. I leave to my cousin, Abram Shotwell, my youngest mare. Also George Fox Doctrinal Book [Works], and one of William Sewells Histories.... I leave to Richard Seaman, one of Barclay's Apologies. I leave to

John Rodman, George Fox, his Great Mystery, and Books of Epistles. I leave to Silas Titus, William Penn's No Cross No Crown. I leave to Hannah Ryder, my Sewel's History, in three parts.....If my wife should marry, she shall give security for the sum left to the Poor." Collections N. Y. Historical Society 1902, pp. 107-109.

EARLY HISTORY OF NEW JERSEY. —"The Province of New Jersey, 1664-1738, by Edwin P. Tanner, Ph.D., Instructor in History in Syracuse University, N. Y., 8°, 712 pp. New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1908, \$4.00. This portly volume is of great interest to all who wish to study the political experiments of Friends in East, and West, New Jersey. Penn's liberal and statesmanlike views are very apparent in the "Concessions and Agreements of the Proprietors," and there is no doubt that his experience in the Jersey plans was of the greatest assistance to him in his Pennsylvania enterprise.

Dr. Tanner's volume, issued under the auspices of the Columbia University, New York, is packed full of information gathered from many sources, and put in a shape easy of consultation. All students of this part of American colonial history will feel grateful to him. The references to individual Friends, and to their connection with the provinces are numerous, full and sympathetic. The book, however, is one for the student, not the general

reader, for it is in no sense popular, and the style is not very attractive. The author states that "the chief object of this study is to give an account of the political institutions of New Jersey during the period of her executive union with New York," but in doing this it has been needful to cover a wider field, for which many will thank him.

The Annual Meeting of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia, held on the evening of First Month twenty-fifth, 1909, in the Committee Room of Twelfth Street Meeting House, Philadelphia, was largely attended.

Reports of the Treasurer and the Auditing Committee, and the report of the Nominating Committee were read.

The President called attention to the fact that the annual membership dues of One Dollar each did not amount to a sufficient sum to meet the expenses of the Society, and invited those who were interested in its maintenance and the further development of its usefulness, to forward additional contributions to the Treasurer.

Samuel N. Rhoads read an interesting paper on Haddon Hall, Haddonfield, New Jersey, the home of Elizabeth Haddon Estough, and the scene of much hospitality and entertainment to visiting Friends from England and elsewhere.

His account of the different structures on this site, and description of many events connected with them were much appreciated.

There were on exhibit several interesting pictures of Haddon Hall and its surroundings, the marriage certificate of John Estough and Elizabeth Haddon, and a deed of John Haddon. A large square brick and an oblong brick of ordinary size were shown as types of those used in Haddon Hall.

The President, Isaac Sharpless, then presented a valuable paper, giving an Estimate of the Character of William Penn.

He felt that the few weak points in William Penn's character, such as his failure, at times, to judge of the abilities of the men selected for positions of trust, were entirely overbalanced by the excellency of other traits in his character.

His far-seeing policies in regard to government and education, his unswerving adherence to the principles and beliefs of the Society of Friends, his courteous demeanor and his humility, all of which tended to make him a marked man, among his contemporaries, were enlarged upon.

The erroneous impressions made by several recent writers on the life of William Penn, make this paper by President Sharpless, particularly timely and valuable.

M. S. A.

The BULLETIN is indebted to the *American Friend* for the illustration of The First North Carolina Meeting House, and to a member for that of the London Coffee House.

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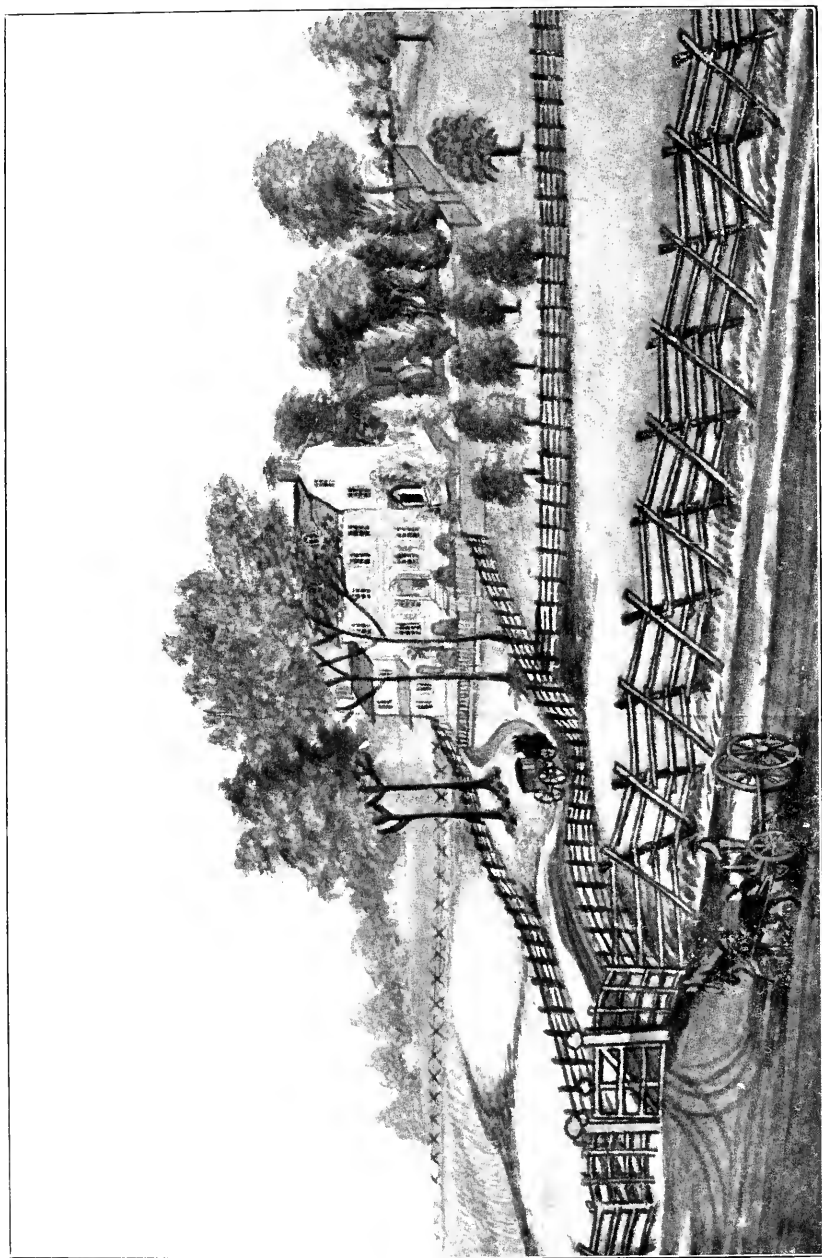
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HADDON HALL OF HADDONFIELD—BUILT 1713; BURNED 1842

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia

Contents

| | |
|--|----|
| Frontispiece, Haddon Hall of Haddonfield, New Jersey. | |
| Haddon Hall of Haddonfield, Samuel N. Rhoads..... | 58 |
| Illustrations—EStaugh Brewery Fireplace, Elizabeth EStaugh's Brew House. | |
| Marriage Certificate of John EStaugh and Elizabeth Haddon. | 71 |
| Eli Yarnall, the Seer—Charles Yarnall..... | 73 |
| A Newspaper of 1656..... | 79 |
| Barclay's Apology at Aix La Chapelle, 1748..... | 85 |
| Caroline Emelia Stephen (1835-1909)..... | 95 |
| North Carolina to Indiana in 1824, Charles F. Coffin..... | 91 |
| Notes and Queries: | 99 |
| Collections in Friends' Meetings—The George Fox Lot in Philadelphia—Marriage of Robert Ewer to Wil- liam Coddington's Widow—Sir Matthew Hale and Quaker Marriages—Certifying Meeting Houses, 1689, 1700. | |

NOTE.—The Editor does not hold himself responsible for any statements made in contributed articles.

All communications for the BULLETIN should be addressed to Allen C. Thomas, Editor, Haverford, Pa.

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HADDON HALL OF HADDONFIELD.

(Read before Annual Meeting of Friends' Historical Society, Philadelphia., First Month 25th, 1909.)

BY SAMUEL N. RHOADS.

In the year 1702, "upon the first day of the Tenth Month," there was a quiet, yet most romantic, Quaker wedding in a humble house on the south bank of Cooper's Creek, about a mile north of the present Borough of Haddonfield, New Jersey.

Simplicity within, and the rude surroundings of a pioneer's cabin without, could not, however, conceal the fact that this, the sixteenth Friends' wedding in Old Newton Township, was no ordinary affair. Among the twenty men and fourteen women signing the wedding certificate, we find the names of Samuel Jennings, Governor of West Jersey; Samuel Carpenter, wealthiest and best-loved merchant of Philadelphia at that time, and Anthony Morris, afterward Mayor of that city. Thus surrounded, in the words of the certificate, "at a Public Meeting at the house of the said Elizabeth Haddon, appointed and held on purpose for the full accomplishment and solemnizing of the said marriage, they, the said John Estaugh and Elizabeth [Haddon] openly and solemnly in the presence of the said Meeting did take each other in Marriage to Husband and Wife." The bride, so lately arrived from London in this home of her maiden choice, has promised "to be unto him a faithful and loving wife," John Estaugh, the gentle groom, signs his name with trembling, yet fervent, stroke. In turn his better-half now grasps the proffered quill, and lo! with steady hand she spells—"Elizabeth"—and then, without a tremor—"H-a-d-d-o-n."!

Emphasis is given to this incident to show why the name of Haddon, in defiance of custom, has clung, and will cling, to everything that the wife of John Estaugh did or possessed, whether in the land of her birth or of her adoption.*

*In about one in twenty Quaker marriage certificates of this period the bride has signed her maiden name for the last time.

John Clement, late historian of Haddonfield, published, in 1873, a short article in the *American Historical Record*, entitled "The Estaugh House." This mansion, with its accompaniments, will form the subject of my paper. I shall designate it by the appropriate name of Haddon Hall, given to it by its last occupants, the family of the late Isaac H. Wood. To distinguish it from the classic old ruin of Derbyshire, we have but to add—"of Haddonfield"—and its identity is complete, and the chance vision of a Dorothy Vernon is transformed into the more real, yet no less romantic and loving one, of Elizabeth, the Maiden Pioneer.

That first American dwelling, where the noble wife of John Estaugh began her housekeeping, was located near the centre of a 500-acre tract bought by her father, John Haddon of London-town, in 1698. A Friend, John Willis, had been the original patentee from Penn and Byllynge, and John's son, Thomas, sold it to John Haddon. The original house was located about 150 yards from the south bank of Cooper's Creek, on ground rising about thirty feet above the tidewater landing at that point. The landing, now unused, was recently called Coles' Landing, after the late owner of the property. It is in the extreme rear of the present village of Westmont, formerly named Rowandtown, and is one and one-half miles below the bridge over which the King's Highway, from Burlington to Salem, crosses Cooper's Creek. No vestige of this house has been known to the oldest inhabitants now living, nor to the generation preceding these, so far as can be ascertained. The late James Starr Lippincott, who once lived on the property adjoining, used to point out the reputed site of the old house cellar, but even that cannot now be located with any accuracy.

Elizabeth was nearly twenty-one years old when she took possession of this home, not nineteen, as stated by Judge Clement in his "First Settlers of Newton Township."

Our knowledge of its construction is based wholly on circumstantial or traditional evidence. Regarding this, I quote Clement (l. c. p. 115):—"It has been generally believed that she erected the first house on this tract of land, bringing with her much of the material from England. This is an error, as a map of the

land made by Thomas Sharp in 1700 (which was before her arrival) proves that buildings were already on the land; and it is supposable that she occupied those already there. John Willis, the locator of the survey, no doubt put the dwelling there* and [perhaps] lived on the premises some time, for fourteen years had elapsed between the date of the taking up and John Haddon's title. She probably enlarged and improved the house so as to accord with her notions of convenience and comfort, and to receive her friends in a proper manner; for it is known that she never turned the stranger away from her door, or suffered her acquaintances to look for entertainment elsewhere.

"This house stood on the brow of a hill on the south side of Cooper's Creek * * * and near that stream, which in those days was much used as a means of travel; and according to the custom of the times in giving a name to such settlements, it was called 'Haddonfield.' This name was retained until the building of the new house in 1713, erected still nearer the village as it now stands; after which it was called 'Old Haddonfield' in order to distinguish it from the more modern and extensive settlement last mentioned."

It is worth noting in this connection that the said John Willis, known as a Philadelphia ship-carpenter in 1696, was no doubt a neighbor of John Haddon in Southwark, the latter furnishing him anchors for his ships before he came to America. This explains John Haddon's purchase of the property on Cooper's Creek from Willis's son in 1698, he also living in Southwark. The absence of data for the elder Willis, after 1696, indicates that he died about that time, and the purchase was probably made in a settlement of his estate. The family name of Willis was also prominent on the old minute books of Horslydown Meeting, in Southwark, when Elizabeth Haddon was a girl, so we can see more plainly the chain of circumstances which finally led her to this wilderness home across the broad Atlantic.

In any event, we are safe in picturing the *Old Haddonfield* house as a very modest home when the dauntless maiden and her servants began the American housekeeping so admirably

*Other records of his personal transactions in Old Newton show he lived in Philadelphia, a ship carpenter, in 1696.

dramatized by Longfellow's poem "Elizabeth."* It was not then necessary for it to be otherwise, for doubtless her most sanguine admirers looked on it as an experiment. But Elizabeth, ever the queen of her own destiny, was no mere enthusiast. She had wonderful openings of the duties and possibilities of life in America. Her's was not even "A Holy Experiment," like that of Penn, but a whole-souled purpose, a total renunciation of the fatherland as a home and an absolute adoption of the new Canaan. Everything that we know, and all that is dimly shadowed in her history, goes to prove this. Even the glamour which romance has shed around her love-affair with John Estauch, coupled with the absence of any certificate or record of her removal to America, gives color to the surmise that she foresaw in the New World that social equality and freedom which would enable her to marry and live happily with an Irishman so lowly born and poor in this world's goods, but so rich in heavenly treasure. While she lived in London, mayhap, such a life was impossible!

Much as one would love to linger in the fairy-land of conjecture as to the sort of house in which John and Elizabeth Estauch married and spent the first eleven years of their married life, let us now pass to the period in 1713, when they began to build a more commodious dwelling. Longfellow has taken Lydia Maria Child's story of the "Youthful Emigrant,"** and given us a rare pastoral of simple cottage-life. To these the student is referred, while we consider the *second* period of Elizabeth Estauch's life marked by the building of Haddon Hall. The "New Haddonfield" home site was a mile distant across lots from the old one and a quarter-mile from the present junction of the King's Highway (Haddonfield Main Street) and the old turnpike, now styled Haddon Avenue. The Hall stood on the highest knoll near the centre of a 500-acre tract which John Haddon bought of Richard Matthews the same year the Willis tract was acquired. This plantation adjoined the other one on the south and east, including, on its southeastern half, nearly all of that part of the Borough of Haddonfield lying north and west of the Main Street. A long lane at right-angles to the present Had-

*See *Aftermath*, Boston, 1873, pp. 38-62.

***Fact and Fiction*, N. York, 1846, pp. 40-60.

don Avenue has, for many generations, given access to that thoroughfare, but it is quite likely that the original lane ran directly from near the front of the house to the present corner of Main and Tanner Streets, where a lively tradition locates the residence of Elizabeth's chief butler.

A more eligible site for a fine house than the one selected by our loving pair does not exist in the neighborhood, and a fine house has always stood on this site for nearly two hundred years, with the exception of a few months in 1842, when the original Haddon Hall was burned and a new brick mansion was erected by Isaac H. Wood on the same foundations.

The construction of Haddon Hall was not necessitated by an increase in the number of American Estaugh's. It was undoubtedly due, in part, to the expectation that John Haddon and his wife would spend their declining years in New Jersey. Some letters from London of that period indicate this very plainly, but the infirmities of old age and the dread of an ocean voyage prevented the journey. Other reasons made it fitting that the Estaugh's should enlarge their borders. John, all unwittingly perhaps, had been drawn into a strenuous business life as attorney for his father-in-law and sole agent of the Pennsylvania Land Company of London. Elizabeth, connected by ties of kinship and friendship with the most influential Friends of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and quickly assuming a responsible position in Church and society, had become a great entertainer.

A retinue of servants and pensioners was the result, and the great house became a necessity. The growing wealth of John Haddon furnished the means to amply provide for every want, and there is little doubt that he paid most of the bills in London, for they do not appear among the papers of his daughter.

Haddonfield, at this time, was not the name for even a village; it literally was The Fields of Haddon. There were probably not more than two or three dwellings on the Main Street of the present town, and they of the most primitive sort,—a tavern, a blacksmith shop, a log cabin or two at magnificent distances. In short, the town of Haddonfield was not on the map, not even dreamt of, when the Estaugh's had the cellar dug for the new mansion on the knoll. Six feet below ground it went

and two feet above the thick foundation walls of rough-hewn Pennsylvania gneiss were laid, no doubt being floated up the creek in barges to Stoy's Landing, at high-tide. The floor of this cellar was, in part, covered with the square flag-bricks, which, there is every reason to suppose, were made in England, and whose origin must not be confounded with that of the ordinary bricks of the building, made, no doubt, in the neighborhood.

Having thus, like the Biblical wise man, "digged deep and founded the building on a rock," as literally as was possible in West Jersey soil, the superstructure was built of brick to the height of two and a half stories in the main building and to two stories in the annex. A word as to these bricks and their origin. They still do duty in the present buildings, and measure $8\frac{7}{8} \times 4 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, being three-fourths of an inch longer and one-quarter inch thicker than the present standard brick. The popular notion that shiploads of bricks were brought over from England to construct the homes of the early colonists may have some foundation, but we have proof that bricks were being manufactured in Burlington, New Jersey, before Philadelphia was even a name. Some of William Penn's early building operations at the Manor, made use of bricks made by J. Redman, of Philadelphia, and in a letter of Hannah Penn's to Penn's secretary, James Logan, dated 1700, she says that "a new [brick] maker at Burlington" now makes them "a crown a thousand cheaper and as much better" than Redman's sort.

It is certain that by 1713 brickmaking had become a regular industry in West Jersey, and where surface clay was accessible on a plantation, the materials for large building operations like this were manufactured on the estate as closely as possible to the operation. There is an old clay pond, or marsh, just across the turnpike from, and nearly opposite to the Haddon Hall site, and distant therefrom about 300 yards.

From my infancy almost to this day, the fenny shallows of this pool have harbored many a mystery known only to frogs, mosquitos and boys. Only of late years has it dawned upon me that this blemish on the once fertile field of the Redman family was a legacy of the thrift of their collateral ancestor, Elizabeth Estaugh, in her building operations.

Doubtless from this, or a similar depression on the farm, where clay marl of the best quality for firing is known to lie close to the surface, came the "English bricks" which fiction has made illustrious. The square flag-bricks which paved the garden walks and cellar floors (as already hinted), were probably imported, being of finer workmanship, a different color and of another sort of clay. Their size was exactly double that of the ordinary kind.

Unfortunately we do not now have access to any memoranda of the workmen or building expenses of Haddon Hall. These records, if existing, are probably in England, owned by some member of the Butcher family of London. It is not impossible that Francis Collins, master carpenter and mason, may have had a hand in planning and erecting the homestead. He was then an old man, but a close and trusty friend of Elizabeth, his daughters being her intimate associates. In 1675 he built the Stepney Meeting House, in London, and in 1682, the old octagonal Friends' Meeting House in Burlington, N. J. Another house-builder of the period was William Matlack, of Pensauken, who, four years later bought 200 acres of land of John Haddon. Or it may be an explanation of the subsequent family relations between the Estaugh and the Redmans, that one of the latter family, known to be Philadelphia carpenters, may have helped build Haddon Hall. In any event it could have been built by no other than a Quaker, and of good Quaker materials and workmanship!

We owe our present knowledge of the outward appearance and inner construction of Haddon Hall chiefly to two sources. The first is a small water-color sketch made by the brother of Thomas Redman the third, John Evans Redman, of Philadelphia, whose maternal ancestor was a niece of Elizabeth Estaugh. Redman was of an artistic and literary turn, and delighted in the beauties of his brother's country-home. He contributed some descriptive and poetical essays to the *Philadelphia Casket* in the early thirties, illustrated with woodcuts, by Gilbert, after the author's sketches of Haddonfield scenes. John Clement says that this water-color view of Haddon Hall was made by John Evans Redman in 1821, but a legend of rather modern writing on the back of it gives the date about ten years later.

The most reliable source of facts of the latter sort is Rebecca C. W. Reeve, oldest daughter of Isaac and Elizabeth Cooper Wood, and who was a child of eight years when the house was burned. It had been the home of her parents from 1831 until the fire destroyed it, in 1842. To the kind and thoughtful courtesy of Rebecca Reeve and to her love of the parental homestead, still held by her brother, Samuel Wood, added to a good memory of the stirring events of the night of the fire, we owe much.

I can do no better than quote from her letter to me about the old Hall:

[Camden, N. J.]

S. N. Rhoads:—

Respected Friend, Thee requests a Plan of Haddon Hall, my old and well-loved home, which I enclose—made on a large scale as easier to draw. The House was brick, rough-cast and yellow—the Kitchen part also brick and rough-cast. The Garden wall enclosed the North and East sides only—a fence running along close to the box-tree walk, with the one yew tree near the gate.

The path from Hall door to front yard gate was in same position as at present—but the flag-bricks have been twice reset—the last time by my brother Samuel Wood.

The fire occurred about midnight of the 14th of April (Second day night of Yearly Mtg. week in Phila) 1842.

My Father, Isaac Hornor Wood, and Mother Elizabeth H. Cooper Wood—with their children, Rebecca Cooper, William Cooper, Isaac Hornor Jr and Alexander Cooper, the latter six months old, with their three Colored maids, two cold boys and a white man, constituted the household. One colored boy lost his life in the fire. The fire started in kitchen, and supposedly by a man retiring late and dropping a match.

Much of furniture in main part of house was saved by herculean efforts, and also on account of very thick wall, between the main and kitchen part of house. A trunk full of valuable family papers, which had been kept in a room on third floor for safe-keeping, was not secured by the man sent for them; therefore burned, an irreparable loss.

Some of the walls were standing next morning; but pulled down when cool, and the bricks used in rebuilding.

The front door, (and also either the back hall door or door of kitchen we know not which) were lifted from the hinges and carried out—and are now used as cellar doors in my brother's home*.

The Barns were not damaged.

*See frontispiece.

The present descendants of E. Haddon have my parents to thank for the *preservation, enlarging* and beautifying the place: as it had been sold by the *Sheriff*, and despoilers had been busy before their purchase of it. It has been in family of Isaac and Elizabeth Wood for seventy-seven years.

The original of the picture sold under the name of the "Estaugh House 1776 to 1876" was made during the residence in it of Sarah Cresson, whose carriage in the lane is shown in the picture.

REBECCA C. W. REEVE.

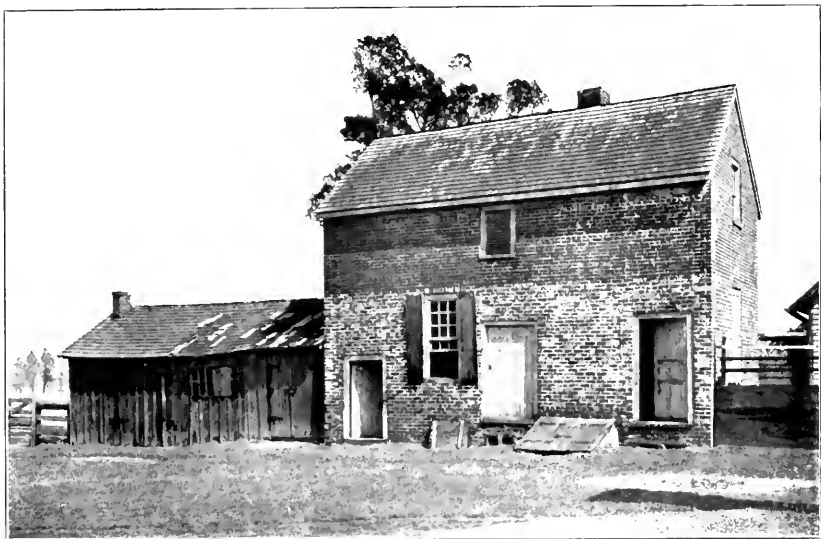
February eleventh, Nineteen hundred and eight.

It may be here added that the only building now standing on the property, originally constructed for Elizabeth Estaugh, is her old brick brew house, the exterior and interior of which are shown in the accompanying double plate. It stands about 30 feet from the rear of the mansion.

The plans of the first and second stories, as remembered by Rebecca Reeve, accompanied the letter. A study of these, as also of Redman's sketch, shows a considerable annex on the north end of the main building. The front of this annex in the water-color view plainly appears to project *beyond* the mansion some distance, apparently four to six feet. In the Reeve plan the reverse of this is represented.

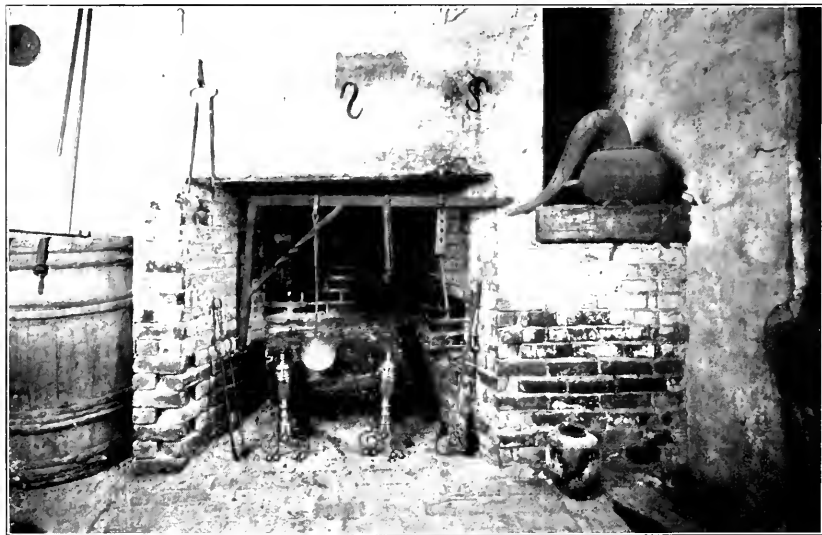
This two-story, four-roomed "Annex," as I have called it, with its pent-roof, low ceilings and apparent lack of cellar,* strongly suggests having been built *before* the larger building to which it was attached. This is quite likely, and it would have formed ample accommodations for a year or more during which the main building and its accessories were being leisurely completed after the good, old, conservative, Quaker fashion. That the two parts of Haddon Hall were separately built is further shown by the fact that the walls between them were double-thick, and the first floor of the smaller structure was about three feet lower than that of its neighbor, and the height of the ceilings so different that no second-story connection existed between them. Future researches may show that a period of five or six years elapsed between the construction of the two buildings, and that the larger one was built with a view of bringing John Haddon and his wife over to live with their favorite children

*The wine vault was probably under the front room of this part.



ELIZABETH ESTAUGH'S BREW HOUSE

BUILT ABOUT 1713—PHOTOGRAPHED 1909



ESTAUGH BREWERY FIREPLACE

SWINGING CRANE AND LIMBECK

during their declining years. There are several well-known facts which favor this theory. As the present building stands on the ancient foundations, we know that the frontage of the old one was 43 feet and the gable end 36 feet wide. The annex must have increased the total frontage, as seen coming up the lane, to 60 feet.

Measurements of the old front-door, now in the cellar, show that the height of the first story rooms was about 12 feet, almost palatial for that day and neighborhood. The front porch and entrance and main hallway were quite in keeping, the former approached by four or five wide steps rising about three feet, the latter about ten feet across and running clear through to a back door.

The drawing room, or parlor, was on the right, and a smaller bed room back of it. Each of these had great diagonally constructed fireplaces in adjoining corners, opening up into the huge double chimney of the gable end. On each side of the mantelpieces were three-cornered cupboards with glass doors. The fireplaces were tiled with imported Delft, of blue, white and maroon figures. On the south, or garden side of the parlor were glass and latticed doors opening by a covered porch to the wide walk between the box-bushes and new trees.

The living and sitting room fronted on the left side of the hall. It had a great fireplace midway of the north wall and a door leading across the stairway of the annex into the front room of that part. Back of this living room were the spacious rear hallways, staircases and pantry, with rear entrance by a descent of four steps to the floor of the adjoining annex room. In more modern times, this rear room was the *dining room*, and the room in front the *kitchen*, an arrangement quite surprising, and the reverse of what we would expect in household management.

Probably in the days of the Estaughs, the front room held the festive board, which tradition has made us believe had no near rival in the latter reign of the hospitable Elizabeth. This view is borne out by the fact of the direct connection of the sitting room with the front annex room; also because the pantry and store room were directly accessible to the rear room, naturally, therefore, the kitchen. On the north side of each of these

annex rooms was a large open fireplace. Oh, what savory odors can one imagine going up that sooty chimney's throat on Quarterly Meeting days! These were the days when slaves and home-made liquors were not wholly barred by the Discipline. A finely-arranged, strongly-built and spacious vault was located under the middle wall of the two buildings, to the right of the sitting room fireplace. It was remarkably cool, being three feet deeper than the cellar. Steps descended conveniently near to it from the annex entry and sitting room, for the ready use of the famous butler who always presided at the feasts of Haddon Hall, and whose home, tradition says, was at the end of that once long and leafy lane now called Tanner Street. This vault was destroyed when the present house was built, much to the regret of its present occupant. No doubt it was well-stocked with liquid refreshments, tonic beverages and medical potions in those earlier days when Haddon Hall was in the heyday of its reputation as a sort of half-way house between Burlington and Salem Yearly Meetings and Philadelphia.

But let us return to the second story of our bygone mansion. Four rising steps, northward from the middle of the hallway to a square landing, and ten steps more at right angles over the pantry, brings one to the rear of the second story hallway, a spacious area leading by four doorways into as many bed rooms. It is believed that Elizabeth's room was over the sitting room and the opposite one in front reserved for distinguished guests only. Here we can imagine the indefatigable Thomas Chalkley in snoring visions of the days when he was stoned and reviled as he walked to Horslydown School along the streets of ancient Southwark; days when Elizabeth was only big enough to look out of the window and pity "poor Tommy." Or, again, we can picture our hostess, brass candlesticks in hand, guiding Mary Pace (afterward Weston) and Susanna Brown, visiting ministers from England, to their calm night's rest in this self-same room. Imagine their half-uttered exclamations of surprise, when Elizabeth leaves them, at sight of the sumptuous bedstead and its hangings, the marble-top mahogany table, the lofty, gilt mirror, the porcelain-tiled fireplace, with Franklin's handy, new stove in it, and, finest of all, the elegant "high-boy,"

with carved and fluted top and polished brass handles, wherein lay treasured many a precious heirloom of London life and English kindred! Such comforts, in a spot, not thirty years before a forest wilderness, must have deeply impressed the average foreign traveler with amazement at America's progress, and much more so, the concerned Friends from the country districts of England. No doubt some of these faithful messengers from the Mother Land labored gently and lovingly with Elizabeth and John, regarding the proper use of wealth, after duly seeing and handling and tasting the bounteous store of Haddon Hall. But we can well imagine John Estaugh referring all such anxieties to the "head of the house," and she, in turn, was too much of a diplomat not to quiet their fears, and too much of a lady not to inspire their respect and admiration.

We know not a little of the original furnishings of Haddon Hall, much of these being distributed, before the house was burned, among the heirs of Ebenzer Hopkins, Elizabeth Estaugh's adopted nephew, who was my great, great, great grandfather. Among these heirlooms are several fine old chairs; a large marble-top, claw-foot parlor-table; a tall, heavy, gilt-topped parlor mirror; a very tall and finely constructed grandfather's clock, made in London; a truly splendid old chest of drawers, etc., etc. All these show that substantial elegance, which indicates both wealth and thrift, that happy combination which so many strive after, but so few attain.

A search among the journals of traveling ministers of the period between 1720 and 1762 shows that Haddon Hall had almost a monopoly in the hospitalities given to "Public Friends" visiting that neighborhood. Thomas Story, Thomas Wilson and James Dickinson, Benjamin Kidd, William Reckitt, William Ellis, John Fothergill, Samuel Bownas, Mary (Pace) Weston, Catherine Peyton, Edmund Peckover and others, were visitors there from Old England. Besides these, were some from New England and New York, also many prominent Friends from Philadelphia and Burlington. Of these latter, were the Pemberton, Logan, Cadwallader, Smith, Norris, Jennings, Drinker, Waln and Rawle families, with some of whom John Estaugh had dealings both secular and religious. One of the most readable notices of a social visit to the "Widow Estaugh's" is given in the now

well-known book, "Hannah Logan's Courtship," pages 118 and 167, in which, under date of 8th Month 29th, 1747, John Smith, the undaunted lover, records how he followed Hannah to Burlington and took her to Mount Holly that afternoon after meeting. The next day it rained, and Smith secured Governor Belcher's four-wheeled chaise from Burlington about 10 A. M. Putting Jane and his darling Hannah in it—(I now use his words) "We got in pretty good time to Evesham meeting * * * we dined at the wid^e Evan's, and after dinner Rode to Eliz^a Estaugh's, that is Jane Hannah and I with Eben^r Hopkin[s] and Isaiah Andrews. The good widow received us kindly, but the pleasure that I should otherwise have had in the Evening's Conversation was Lost by dear Hannah's having got a pain in her head * * *." The next year Smith records another visit, probably on horseback:—"After dinner Rachel Pemberton, Hannah Logan, Williams wife and I with Chally [Pemberton] went over the river [Delaware] and to Eliza Estaugh's who received us very Courteously and Entertained us very kindly." The next day, he continues:—"We set out from the Good Widows about 10 o'clock. Dined at a Tavern at Morrestown and reached Burlington in the evening" [1st month 28, 29, 1748].

This is only one of the many testimonies which might have been yearly recorded by rich and poor, bond and free, who alike partook of the hospitalities of Haddon Hall and of the bounty and charity of its noble mistress.

Let me call attention to the service Friends may be able to give in tracing out obscure data relating to this house and its original owners.

I am collecting materials for a biography of Elizabeth Haddon and enough has been already published regarding her to show that she is an almost unique character in the annals of the English colonization of the original "Thirteen States." There are some serious deficiencies in the records pertaining to her youth, her emigration, her courtships and her life at both Haddonfields. Romance has bridged these gaps with a fairy combination of fact and fiction. We want the missing *facts*; and many of them no doubt are awaiting our search. I ask that all who can give any clues to the sources of Lydia Maria Child's original story of the "Youthful Emigrant," or to the correspondence between Elizabeth and her relatives in London, or to the heirlooms and papers of John Haddon, or to his ancestry or that of his wife, Elizabeth Clarke, may do so "without unnecessary delay."

MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE OF JOHN ESTAUGH AND ELIZABETH HADDON, 1702.

[The following is an exact copy of the original now in possession of Sarah Nicholson of Haddonfield, New Jersey, made by Samuel N. Rhoads, Fourth Month 29th, 1909.]

“Know all men by These p^rsents that Whereas John Estaugh and . . . Elizabeth Haddon: of the Province West New Jarsey and County of Gloucester: both Single Persons, the said Elizabeth being Doughter of John Haddon of London In the Kingdom of England, haveing Several times Declared their Intentions of takeing each other in Maryage to Husband and Wife, at the monthly meeteings of Newton to which the belonge according to truthes order, and the Said meeteings having received Sattisfaction Concerneing their clearnesse both by due and orderly Enquire made here and allso by Certificates from Friends in England: as allso the consent of their Parents being hadd, So that the S^d meeteings have given their free Assent & concerrence therewith and thereunto &c—

Thesse therefore may Certifye that upon the first day of the Tenth month in the Yeare One Thousand Seven hundred and two att A Publickue meeteing att the house of the Said Elizabeth Haddon Apoynted and held on Purpose for the full accomplishing and Sollemnizeing of the said maryage they the said John and Elizabeth openly and sollemly in the presence of the Said meeteing did take Each other in maryage to Husband and Wife, the said John Sollemnely promising in thesse Woords, Viz, Friends and Neighbours in the Presence of God and you his people Whome I desire to be my Witnessses I Take this my Freind Elizabeth Haddon to be my Wife—promiseing through the Lords Assistance to be unto her A Loveing husband till ye Lord by death Shall seperate us and the S^d Elizabeth declareing as Followeth Friends in fear of the Lord and before you his people whome I desire to be my witnesses I take this my Freind John Estaugh to my husband promiseing through ye Lords Asistance to be unto

him A faithfull and Loveing wife until the Lord by death shall
Separate us.....

In Testimony whereof the Said John & Elizabeth have here-
unto Sett their hands ye day^e & yeare above said.

John Estaugh.

Eliz Haddon.

And Wee Whose Names are Under written being present at
the accomplishing of ye Said Maryage do Subscribe o^r names as
witnesses thereunto.

David Breintnall

Henry Ballinger

Francis Richardson

James Cooper

Joseph Cooper

Sam. Carpenter

Francis Collins

John Jones

Wiliam Cooper

? Wm. Furnis (or Purvis?)

John Wills (or Willis?)

Elizabeth Key

Elizabeth Adams

Esther Spicer

Ann Thackery

Lydia Cooper

Mary Heans

Eliz. Evens

Sarah Ellis

Mary Hanbury

Sibilla Masters

Elizabeth Morris

Hope Wills

Martha Spicer

Abigaill Spicer

James Estaugh

Sam^{ll} Jenings

John Adams

Antho : : Morris

Richard Gove?

Peter Frettwell

William Evans

North Puckle

John Wright

Richard Hunness

ELI YARNALL, THE SEER.

CHARLES YARNALL.

[The following account is from the papers of the late Charles Yarnall (1800-1877), the author of "John Bowne of Flushing," *Bulletin*, vol. 2, No. 2, and is dated by him, First Month 23rd, 1870.]

This person, who in his youth was believed to possess a remarkable faculty of seeing what was existing in distant regions, or rather of seeing wholly irrespective of distance, was the son of George and Mary Yarnall. He was born about the year 1788 and was a descendant of Francis Yarnall, a highly respected Friend, who, in 1684, emigrated from Claynes, in the County of Worcester, England, and became a prominent citizen of Chester County, a member for several years of the Legislature of the Province of Pennsylvania, the holder of an important trust under the Provincial Government.

In the early years of this century* Eli Yarnall removed to Red Stone, now Brownsville, Pennsylvania. Having heard of one extraordinary instance of the exercise of this faculty, I was particularly desirous of availing myself of an opportunity of testing the evidence on which the narrator rested. In the year 1843 I was attending the Yearly Meeting of Baltimore. At the house of a friend I was introduced to Eli Haines, a remarkable elder, and was struck by the simplicity of his character together with plain good sense. I soon found that my excellent Friend was from Brownsville, and was accompanying a minister then attending the Yearly Meeting. I asked him of a boy named Eli Yarnall. He promptly replied that he had known him, and was present at a remarkable interview between him and John Hall, from England, then traveling in the ministry in America, and accompanied by Stephen Grellet. I asked him to relate the story without suggesting anything that could recall any part of it. The narration interested me greatly; [also] the [fact] that the remarkable

*This should probably read, In the latter years of the Eighteenth Century,—Ed.

and sagacious narrator had no theory whatever by which to explain the wonderful features of his narrative. He was evidently absorbed in the memory of what had passed, and told it with the utmost simplicity.

On the following day, if I remember rightly, I found myself seated in the railroad car next to my long-known and beloved friend, Stephen Grellet. I asked him if he remembered anything of this occurrence. "Oh, yes," he said, and proceeded to tell me of what took place, in entire agreement with what Eli Haines had related a few hours previously.

On my return to the city [Philadelphia] I was impressed with the desirableness of obtaining from Eli Haines the statement in writing. But some years were permitted to pass before I wrote to him to favor me with his narrative in writing. In the meantime some of the incidents mentioned by the dear old man had passed from my memory, though the particulars of the "seeing" remained quite clear. Soon after I received from my friend a letter, which I think it best to record at length correcting only a few errors in the spelling.*

Brownsville, 3rd mo. 11-12, 1863.

Dear Friend

Charles Yarnall:—

Thy kind letter came to hand in due time; the contents rather amused me than other ways, respecting some conversation that passed between us while in Baltimore. In the first place thou says, the occurrence took place at my house, which is a mistake, for I was then young and lived with my father in Virginia near Winchester.

John Hall and S. Grellet on their way from the South [1800] attended our Quarterly Meeting, held at Hopewell, and at the close of the meeting S. G. arose and said they were on their way over the mountains, and would like some young man to accompany them. It [was] then the commencement of harvest, a busy time. I felt willing, and my friends also (I went with them something like a waiting boy), and when we arrived at Red Stone** we made

*The original letter is in the possession of the Editor of the *Bulletin*.

**Red Stone belonged to Baltimore Yearly Meeting at this time.—[Ed.]

our home with Reece Cadwalader, being an elder and of good report, where Eli Yarnall then lived, a little boy about 12 years old, smart and active. One evening S. Grellet says to our friend Cadwalader, "We hear there is a young prophet some hereaway." [E. C.] "There he is," pointing to Eli, "we try to prevent young folks from those who ask questions they ought not, etc., etc. But, friends, if you would like, you may ask some questions. After tea will have him in private."

After tea we were invited in a private room separate from the family. Eli was called in and the friend R. C. said to Eli, "These friends wish to talk some with thee. Now, I wish thee to be sober and answer them soberly."

After a pause John Hall says, "Canst thou tell me how my family is? Are they well?" Eli putting his hand over his eyes, leaning forward, resting his elbow on his knee; in about one minute Eli replied, "I see them all undressing and going to bed." "What, going this time of day?" the sun was about setting. S. Grellet replied to John Hall, "Remember it is about 10 o'clock at thy house now." Eli [said], "All well and preparing for bed," and added, "There is a little babe among them." This was news to John Hall, who had been from home some two years or more, and had not heard from them for some months, but had a daughter married soon after he left home, but had [not] any such news as Eli tells of. [J. H.] "Eli, what sort of a house are those women in?" Eli: "I don't know. I believe it is stone but [did] not see any like it." Then J. Hall replied, "There is some white and marble on the corners, the rest is common in England." Eli had not seen such before. J. H. "Well, Eli, what is the house covered with?" His reply [was] "I do not know; it is not wood or kon [?] or leather, it is most black and not quite." J. H. "It is slate; thou hast not seen slate?" [Eli] "Yes, I see boys have slate at school." "Yes, Eli, it is slate"; and he took some pains so Eli could understand, etc. J. H. "Describe the yard." He did very well, and [said] there was a big road running in front of the house and yard, and there was a beautiful piece of woods on the other side of the road. J. H. "Well, what is there beyond those woods?" Eli, in a great surprize, lifting up his hands in amazement, "Oh, what a water!" (which proved to be an arm of the

sea.) J. H. "Correct." I do not remember that J. Hall asked any more questions.

Stephen Grellet. "Eli, canst thou tell some about my brothers?" "Yes, I see them all in a row." "How many?" He first said "six"—"No, not six, five." They dressed in a way Eli had not seen, and tried to describe; they were dressed uniform and well. S. G. "My father and brothers are what is called King's Life Guards." This is the substance of what passed that evening, and I do not remember that there was any more that time.

There were many reports concerning this remarkable boy, one I shall mention. Reece Cadawalader's wife told me there was a committee sent by Baltimore Yearly Meeting and my husband was one of the committee to visit the Indians out at Wahpoconeta. Whilst they were gone Eli was carrying some water for [the] house. She said to Eli, "Where and how is Grandfather?" [Eli] "I see them all walking through the woods." "They are all well?" "Yes, he fell down and hurt his wrist, and has a red cloth round his wrist; it is well now, and they will soon come home." And they did. She went out to meet her husband and friends, she espied the red cloth that Eli spoke of. "What is the matter with thy wrist?" "Oh," he said, "I was so clumsy, fell down and sprained my wrist; it is well now, thee may take it off." All much such like. This was in the [year] of 1800, in the 6th month.

When we returned from over the mountains [and] arrived at my father's, he had several letters for John Hall, and [he] stept into another room to read them. In a short time he returned with a smiling face, and said to Stephen [Grellet], "Remember what Eli told when my women were undressing and going to bed, he said there was a babe among them?" this is so—my letters inform that it is so."*

So now, dear friend, I have iterated much and fear thou will

*Stephen Grellet gives an account of the visit (though not of the boy) in company with John Hall in his *Journal, Memoirs Stephen Grellet*, by Benj. Seeböhm, Vol. 1, pp. 69, 70. He was then twenty-six years old. He also refers to the visit to Baltimore Yearly Meeting in 1843, *Ib.* vol. 2, pp. 458, 459.—[Ed.]

be puzzled to read, for looking over it I see so much interlining and repetitions [I] thought I would transcribe [but] I fear I should not better it for I am now in my 83rd year, and when I take pen to write my [hand] shakes and cramps so can scarcely hold the pen. This thou wilt excuse and feel glad that I can [write] so much and hope that thou may get the substance, and excuse me for so much introduction relating to circumstances. And, further, I cannot remember Eli's father's name. A friend told me he thought his name was George. I will make inquiry and let thee know. I was glad to hear of one of Eli's daughters being a virtuous woman, my love to her when thou sees her, and to thee and thy household, and remain thy ever wishing Friend
Eli Haines.

Brownsville, 3rd mo. 26, [18]63.

Esteemed Friend:—

Thine of the 19th instant came duly to hand. I am glad thou did make out the contents of my scrawl to thee (it put me in remembrance of the man that wished to build a cottage house; when he finished he found that he had more porch than house, so with mine to thee). I think I promised to give the names of Eli's parents. Upon inquiry, the father was George and the mother Mary. They had two sons, Eli and Mordecai; our friend thinks there was a daughter. She married and went west. Mordecai learned the blacksmith's trade, and when he served his time he too went west. I can't learn the name of the daughter; as my friend E. is waiting I add this scrip; this is all that I can yet ascertain. Thou says thanks. Thou art truly welcome.

There were many accounts and stories concerning this remarkable seer, but I thought best to confine myself to what I witnessed and heard. Except the story of the red cloth round the wrist the rest I was present and heard. This from thy poor [but] I hope true friend.*

Eli Haines.

In the First month, 1870, I had been spending some weeks in Torquay, Devon, England. A Friend, Edward Richardson,

*This letter, not in the paper, has been copied from the original in the Editor's possession.

lent me a ms. volume containing a collection of anecdotes and letters, made by his father, the late well-known and respected Thomas Richardson, of Sunderland, Durham, relating to American Friends. Among these was the following extract of a letter from John Hall, of Cumberland (the friend mentioned in the letter of Eli Haines), addressed to J. H.'s wife, written immediately after the return of the party to Virginia, and giving a contemporary version of the same occurrence, and confirming essentially the statement of Eli Haines and our friend Stephen Grellet. John Hall being the party most interested in the revelations of the boy seer, and writing home to his wife relates those sayings which most affected him and her, and then his sons and their doings are told as reported, while other things which the other Friends had retained so freshly on their memories are less particularly given.

Letter of John Hall, of Cumberland, to his wife, dated "Mount Ridge near Winchester, Virginia, 15th of 7th month, 1800.

...Since my last I have been at Red Stone Quarterly, 157 miles north of this place, where I have met with a boy of about 12 years old, who is remarkable for seeing things at a distance. I asked him if he could see thee. He answered he could and said thou wast dressing thyself. I asked if could see my sons, how many I had. He paused a while, and said, "I see four, the oldest is packing goods in the shop and some people with him; the second is riding; and the two little boys are doing nothing." I asked if he could see Alice. He said he could and he could see she had three girls. He described Hannah's person, and said she was sewing and had a little boy. He told me I had six daughters. He seems a most extraordinary youth. All the above was perfectly correct. The name of the boy was Eli Yarnall. He was first discovered to have this wonderful gift when he was about (?) years old, by his laughing as he sat at home in the house. His mother inquiring the cause, he said, he saw his father returning from the market lose a keg (a jug of whisky) off his head and that it rolled down the hill and father ran after it. This proved to be the case and the keg (jug) breaking the whisky was lost.

He was at first not aware this gift was peculiar to himself, and thought that people had no need to ask him questions, as they might see for themselves. When desirous of seeing anything at a distance he was in the habit of shutting his eyes, and leaning his forehead on his hand, and seldom answered a question before he paused for some time. He was a steady religious boy, and when at any time he had done anything for which he felt reproof he lost his gift for a time”.....

“John Hall asked him what his house was built of. He said he could not tell. It was different from what he was acquainted with. It was rough-cast. Having told some circumstances that incriminated certain men, they lay in wait to kill him, as he went to school, of which having a sense, his life was preserved, and the men were discovered, who confessed their wicked designs.” *

[It is to be regretted that the author of the preceding paper did not give the subsequent history of Eli Yarnall. So far as the Editor has been able to ascertain, the boy grew up, but in his very early manhood became dissipated, and completely lost his gift. He died young.—Editor.]

A NEWSPAPER OF 1656.

There lies before the writer, through the kindness of a friend, a small quarto tract, of sixteen pages, 8 by 6 inches in size, “Printed in London by Thomas Newcomb dwelling over against Bainard’s Castle in Thames-street.” It bears the title, “THE PUBLIC Intelligencer, Communicating the chief Occurrence, AND PROCEEDINGS WITHIN The Dominions of *England, Scotland* and IRELAND: Together with an Account of Affaires from severall Parts of EUROPE. *From Monday*

*Copied verbatim from the Mss. Collection of Thomas Richardson of Sunderland, now in the possession of his son, Edward Richardson, of Torquay. This Mss. dated 1827. C. Y. Torquay, Devon, England, 1st mo. 23, 1870.

December 15 to Monday December 22, 1656." It is number 62, and is paged continuously, beginning with page "(1063)." There is no mention of price or subscription.

It is evidently one of those weekly "letter-sheets" as they were often called, published not only for the information of the Londoners but also of those, who, living in the counties, looked for most of their news either to private hands or to these papers.

All the items of news are dated and so it is possible to gain a very fair idea of how long it took news to travel in the middle of the seventeenth century. The first paragraph is headed "From St. Sebastian, Dec. 6"; the next, "From the Polonian Camp 8 Dec." The earliest date is "Constantinople 10 November," and the latest, "Saturday, 20 December. [1656.]"

It seems that a somewhat similar paper was published on Thursdays, for one paragraph reads, "To the end that" [certain items of information] may be sufficiently published to the other parts of the Nation where the Thursday-Book useth not to come, you have here reprinted what was before published. . . . on Thursday."

As a very general war was raging on the continent it is natural that military affairs should take an important place in the paper, and there are no less than eighteen separate items concerning the war. There are some scraps of gossip and social news as the following, "His Highness [Oliver Cromwell] conferred the honor of knighthood upon Alderman Robert Titchborn, present Lord Major of the City of London. The like also upon Listebon Long, Esq. Recorder of the City of London." Another reads, "Brussels, Dec. 23, S.N.*. . . . The Titular King of Great Britain seems still to be preparing to serve the designs of Spain upon England; but were you here in this Country, to see how things go with him at Bruges, you would say there were no great fear of him; his people about him are pitiful poor, and many that were listed are gone away to serve in other places,

*"S. N."—That is, *Stilo novo*, New Style. The Gregorian Calendar adopted at this time by most of the continental countries was not adopted by England until 1752. In the seventeenth century there was a difference of ten days, Dec. 23, N. S. being equivalent to Dec. 13, O. S.

and no more like to come on, at least not this winter. Here is great talk up and down the Country as if there would be a marriage made betwixt his Brother, called Duke of York, and the Inheritrix of Bergues." The "titular King of Great Britain" was Charles II. and this brother, Duke of York, was afterwards James II. No one then dreamed that in less than four years Cromwell would be dead and Charles restored to the throne of his fathers.

Only two "Advertisements" appear, and both are for the recovery of horses; the one, "a white mare about nine years old, fourteen handful high wanting one inch, both trots and paceth." For her return and the apprehension of "the party that hath her," five pounds is offered. The other is "a grey mare about 13 hand high, with a fine white Main and tail."...If any bring intelligence to Mr. Harris at the White Hart, at the Weyk by Kingston, they shall have very good satisfaction for their pains and charge."

The following is an item dated "From Paris, December 16, stilo novo." "The Doctors of the Faculty of Theologie assembled in the Colledge Sorbonne, to put in execution the Censure passed against the Doctrine of Iansenus, lately revived by Doctor Arnaud, are come to this Resolution, That all those who will not subscribe to the condemnation of the said Doctrine, shall be degraded and deprived of all the Rights of Doctorship, with all their honors, Priviledges, and Emoluments. And in case any person shall at his death professe the said Doctrine, none of his Brethren shall be present at his Funeral, nor shall solemn Masse be said for them, nor shall they bee remembered with the yearly service, which useth to be performed every year after the decease of each of their Doctors."

Seven pages, beside several short notices, are given to the case of James Nayler. This, being a strictly contemporary account, is full not only of historic interest, but of pathos also. The reader cannot wonder at the feeling that such conduct as was publicly exhibited by Nayler's followers, should lead to the punishment of him who was the occasion of it. That the proceedings were not recognized as those of mad enthusiasts is, perhaps,

too much to expect in that day of superstitious beliefs. The whole incident should be regarded rather as an illustration of the character of the times than as any special resentment against James Nayler and the Quakers. Almost, if not quite, as harsh treatment was meted out to any great offenders against Church or State. Good examples are the case of Titus Oates, under James II., thirty years later (1685),* and that of Alexander Leighton, 1630, by the Court of Star Chamber.**

It is not needful to go into the particulars of Nayler's fall and the wild vagaries of his followers. It is sufficient to say that the matter made a great stir in the kingdom. The official records show that the case occupied the attention of Parliament for the greater part of ten days. It was, according to the paper before us, on "Wednesday 17, 1656," that he was personally brought "to the Bar of the House for those high Crimes whereof he had been found guilty, which judgment was as followeth:

"That James Nailor be set on the Pillory with his head in the Pillory in the new Pallace [Yard], Westminster, during the space

*Oates convicted of perjury in connection with the so-called Popish Plot, was sentenced to pay a fine of two thousand marks; to be stripped of his canonical habit; to stand upon and in the pillory for an hour the next Monday before Westminster Hall gate, with a paper over his head declaring his crime; upon Tuesday to stand in the pillory for an hour at the Royal Exchange with the same inscription; on Wednesday he was to be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate, and upon Friday he was to be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn by the common hangman; that on the 24th of April of each year he was to stand in the pillory at Tyburn opposite the gallows; and that on every 9th, 10th and 11th of August and 2nd of September he was to stand in the same respectively at Westminster Hall gate, Charing Cross, the Temple gate, and the Royal Exchange; and to be a close prisoner as long as he lived. Doubtless it was expected that he would not survive the first part of his sentence, but, strange to say, though the sentence was rigidly carried out, and the flogging was savagely performed with a whip having six thongs, Oates did survive. Year by year he was brought out to be pilloried, until 1689, when he was pardoned and granted a pension in consideration of his sufferings, and illegalities in his trial. See Somers' Tracts, vol. 9, p. 239; Littell's Living Age, vol. 181, p. 149.

**See Bright, English History, vol. 2, p. 631; Masson, Life of Milton, vol. 1, pp. 404, 405.

of two hours Thursday next, and shall be whipped by the Hangman through the streets from Westminster to the Old Exchange, London, and there likewise be set upon the Pillory with his head in the Pillory for the space of two hours, between the hours of eleven and one on Saturday next; in each of the said places wearing a Paper containing an Inscription of his Crimes. And That at the Old Exchange his Tongue shall be bored through with a hot iron, and that he be there also stigmatised in the forehead with the letter B [for Blasphemer]. And that he be afterwards sent to Bristol, and conveyed into and through the said City on a Horse baredridged, with his face backward, and there also publickly whipped the next Market day after he comes thither. That from thence he be committed to prison in Bridewel, London, and there restrained from the Society of all people and kept to hard labor till he shall be released by Parliament; and that during this time he be debarred from the use of Pen, Ink, and Paper, and shall have no relief but what he earns by his daily labor."

Nayler was not left to the mercies of Parliament without efforts made on his behalf by his friends. The account goes on to say that endeavors were made "to justifie him," and "papers delivered up and down to Parlament men and other Persons in authority." "The said Papers were dispersed by three of the Princes of this new Quaking Kingdom, viz. Robert Rich well known in London, William Tomlinson, and George Fox." Of these papers, one by Tomlinson and two by Fox, are given. If they are true copies, as they probably are, it must be confessed that the writers had a rather hard time. These papers are couched in general terms, no mention is made of Nayler by name, and the chief arguments are against all persecution. There is an effort to show that bowing to man by man may be a figure, and if it is allowable to kneel before a judge, may not kneeling before another man be a figure also, if it be done in the truth. After the sentence by Parliament, it is not surprising that the editor of the newspaper should say that "in obscure and canting terms he [George Fox] justifieth the bowing down, kneeling, doing honor to, or worshipping of Nailor." How far this judgment

was from Fox's true attitude towards the matter is abundantly evident from his Journal.*

It is further stated, "Westminster, Thursday, 18 Dec. This day James Nailer stood in the pillory in the Pallaceyard two hours, and then was whipped to the Old Exchange; from whence he was conveyed to Newgate, in order to the execution of the rest of the Sentence passed upon him." Again, on the same day, we have the following: "Several petitions presented to the House, containing Complaints against the growth and exorbitances of the people called Quakers, were this day read." Under "Saturday, 20 Dec., "A Petition was exhibited by several persons on the behalf of James Nailer, for a respite of his further punishment, because of some present weakness; and thereupon the house did order, That the further punishment of James Nailer, which should have been on this day, shall be suspended till this day seven night, and be executed on him then, and that the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, do observe this order accordingly. The house also desired some reverend ministers to go and confer with the said Nailer, to endeavor his conviction and reducing."*

There are a number of other interesting matters in this old paper. Words ending in "or," as labor, endeavor, etc., are invariably spelled without the "u"; there is also the usual indifference to rule in the spelling of proper names; we have on the same page Naylor, and Nailor, and elsewhere Nailer, while on the title pages of his books it is generally Nayler.

The publisher or printer, Thomas Newcomb, according to

*See Journal of George Fox, 8th ed., vol. 1, pp. 259, 327, 328; Rufus M. Jones's Abridgment, pp. 269-271. See also for the Nayler episode, Carlyle's Cromwell, Part 9, Letter 203; Part 10, Letter 217.

The names of Robert Rich and William Tomlinson do not appear in Fox's Journal. Rich had been a Ranter, and later went off with John Perrot (1661). He died, 1679. See the graphic account of his connection with the persecution of Nayler, in Sewel's History of the Quakers, pp. 137-160; also p. 291, ed. of 1725. William Tomlinson was quite an author, and the list of his works takes up nearly three pages in Smith's Catalogue of Friends' Books.

*Five noted public preachers, Caryl, Nye, Manton, Griffith and Reynolds, were sent. Gough, History of the Quakers, vol. 1, p. 242.

Plomer ("Booksellers and Printers, 1641-1667, London, 1907."), was one of the chief printers of London. In 1654 he printed John Milton's *Second Defence of the English People* ("Pro populo Anglicano Defensio Secunda"). In 1668 he had three presses, a proof press, one apprentice, seven compositors and five pressman, evidently having one of the largest printing houses in London. He died 1681.

The paper is in excellent preservation, and is valuable and interesting as throwing light on the period, and as furnishing contemporary evidence as to matters of historic interest.

BARCLAY'S APOLOGY AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE AT AIX LA CHAPELLE, 1748.

INTRODUCTION.

One of the most active and useful organizations in the Society is the "Meeting for Sufferings," of London Yearly Meeting.* That its efforts at the present time are confined by no narrow limits is well known to all Friends, but the following paper indicates that it was no less broad in its scope in the Eighteenth Century. The meeting of the Ambassadors at Aix La Chapelle, in 1748, was to try to end formally the desolating and, with the exception of Prussia, fruitless war, known as the War of the Austrian Succession—a conflict only brought to a conclusion by the exhaustion of the belligerents. The Meeting of Sufferings appears to have thought the coming together of so many prominent public men, from all over Europe, a favorable opportunity to attempt to influence them, and also to bring the real

*For those who are not familiar with the organization of the Friends, the following definition, taken from "Christian Discipline of the Society of Friends" (vol. II, p. 59), is given: "The Meeting for Sufferings (so-called from the nature of its original object) is a standing representative committee of the Yearly Meeting, and is entrusted with a general care of whatever may arise during the intervals of the Yearly Meeting affecting the Society." In most of the American Yearly Meetings the analogous body is called "The Permanent Board."

character and doctrines of Friends before the sovereigns of Europe. To carry out their purpose, we gather from the paper that they employed Jan Wanderwerf, one of the few Friends of Amsterdam, Holland, to present to each representative at Aix La Chapelle two copies of Barclay's Apology in the language with which any given ambassador might be most familiar, accompanied by a letter (probably of explanation). That the Friends were not mistaken in their own ambassador is very clear from his naive account before us. It is scarcely likely that any apparent effect was produced by this piece of mission work, yet the interest shown by London Friends and the effort made are worthy of great praise. Barclay's Apology was doubtless far better suited to the minds of the Eighteenth Century than it is to the minds of the Twentieth Century. One can hardly imagine the London Meeting for Sufferings sending copies of Barclay's Apology to the Russian and Japanese conferees at Portsmouth, 1905, or to the members of the Berlin Conference in 1878, a gathering more nearly analogous to that of Aix La Chapelle.

The paper herewith printed has been taken from what appears to be a contemporary copy which is in the collections of the late Charles Roberts of Philadelphia. The document is in a very dilapidated condition, but legible. Whether it has been printed before or not is unknown to the writer. It seems, however, to be worthy of preservation in a more permanent shape. It would be interesting to have a copy of the letter which accompanied each present. Probably this would be found in the Records of the Meeting for Sufferings.

A. C. T.

Occurrences which happened in delivering Barclay's appologies at the request of the meeting for Sufferings in London to the following Ambassadors met to conclude a Peace at Aix La Chappelle in the months 7ber and 8ber, 1748 by me Ian Wanderwerf of Amsterdam.

N[ew] S[tyle]. 1748, 7ber 2. With the Imperial Ambassador Count Caunitz. delivered three Books High Dutch, one for the Emperour one for the Empress Queen, and one for him the Ambassador, with a Letter. He received me Kindly, and having read the Letter and Title of the Book, He asked on what occasion I brought him them, and having answered him, He asked further

If I had the Books in other Languages. I answered yes. He then asked if I had been or Intended to go to any other of the Ambassadors I answered I intended to go to the other Ambassadors though had not yet been; He then desired one in French if I could spare one, which I promised, and send him in the afternoon one Book French. He asked the Bearer if I had been with any other of the Ambassadors, and being answered yes with the Ambassadors Sandwich, St. Severin, though the Porter of the Last being a Switzer refused me admittance to which the Ambassador said, I should try again tomorrow morning, Clapping the messenger on the Shoulder.

Ditto. With the Ambassador of Great Britain Earl of Sandwich delivered two Books English, one for him and one for his First Secretary, and after He had read the Letter he Thanked me and said He should do his best towards so good a work.

Ditto. With the First French Ambassador Count St. Severin went to him the second time, and delivered him the two Books and Letter he gave the Letter to his Secretary who read it and said to the Ambassador it is about Religious affairs on which St Severin said to me, He had no Occasion for it, and Thanked me giving them back again.

28, 7ber. With the second French Ambassador Du Thiel who said I should go to the Ambassador St. Severin, and having acquainted him I had been there, He said neither could He receive them.

Ditto. With the Second British Ambassador Robinson. He was Engaged, but delivered to his Secretary Two Books English, one for the Ambassador and one for His First Secretary who was very affable and Friendly.

Ditto. With the Prussian Ambassador very Courteously received, and delivered him two Books High Dutch, one for the King and one for himself, and had a pretty Long Conversation with him on Religion with respect to Baptism, the Supper and Preachers office etc. asking who was the first that taught the Doctrine of the Quakers, saying further we should come into Prussia, where we might Enjoy all Freedom, promising one Book should be delivered to the King:

With the Spanish Ambassador Marq. de Soto major, very

Kindly received, and delivered to his first Secretary two Books Spanish one for the King and one for the Ambassador. He having carried them to the Ambassador and after some time returned and offered me in the Name of the Ambassador a Large peice of gold, for which I Kindly thanked him and told Him I could not accept it. The Secretary returned and acquainted him therewith. He then Invited us into his Anti Chamber, and desired us to accept a Dish of Coffee, Chocolate or what else we Chose, for which we also thanked him. He said would take care to let the King have one book, and his Secretary took down my name and place of abode. I then took my Leave of Him.

With the Bavarian Ambassador gave His Secretary ye Books and Letter and having carried them to the Ambassador and returning asked what I must have for them, the Ambassadors did not desire them for nothing, but on my refusing to take anything He went in again, and returned acquainting His Excellency did not desire the Books without paying for 'em and otherwise I must take them again, on which He went away. Then I took the Books but Left the Letter.

7ber, 30. With the First Hollands Ambassador Count Benticke, delivered him two Books Hollands, one for him and one for His Secretary with a Letter for him (the Ambassador) which when He had read, He received it Kindly and thanked me for the present.

With the second Hollands Ambassador Baron Waesner, He was not in the way, but His first Secretary received me Kindly and took two Books Hollands, one for the Ambassador and one for himself, also the Letter, which He promised to deliver to the Ambassador, asking my name and Place of Abode which he wrote down.

With the Ambassador of the Prince Hereditary Stadtholder O L. van Haaren. he was Engaged yet his Secretary rec'd me Friendly, but said He was doubtful whether He might receive them before He spoke to the Ambassador, asking me If I been with the other Hollands Ambassadors, I answering yes. He then asked if they had accepted them, I said yes. He then took two Books Hollands with ye Letter promising to deliver them one for the Prince and one for the Ambassador asking where I Lodged.

With the Sardignian Ambassador Count Chevannes, delivered him two Books Latin, one for the King and one for himself. He Received me Friendly, He was at a Loss because He might not pay for them wishing He could talk with me Himself, and Thanking me for the present.

With the Genoese Ambassador Marquis Doria, P'sented him with two Books Latin, one for the Doge and one for himself with the Letter, which He received Friendly and asked from whence I came, and having answered him from Holland, He asked if any Quakers Lived in Holland, but as this passed in French and the mean time He Looked into the Letter, He asked if I could speak Latin, I answered no, but I could speak a little English. On which his Secretary asked me in English if there were many Quakers in Holland. I said few though in England many. He further asked if the Books came from the Society in Holland, I said no, but that my Friends in England had sent them to Amsterdam to me Requesting I would Deliver them to the Ambassadors at Aix La Chappelle, Each in his own Language, at which he seemed to admire saying he would willingly have returned a present but that he had already understood from the Spanish Ambassador I desired nothing for them wh. he was sorry for and therefore heartily thanked us desiring his Respects and Thankfullness with offers of Service to the Society and heartily wished he could have Conversed with me without an Interpreter.

8ber 1st. With the Ambassador from Poland and Saxony. Delivered to him two Books High Dutch, one for the King and one for him with a Letter, and after he had read it he Kindly thanked me, saying he would take care to let the King have one Book, and asked if there were Quakers at Aix La Chappelle.

With the Ambassador of modena, Count mongone, Kindly received, and delivered him two Books Latin, one for the Duke and one for him with a Letter. He promised his principal should have one and thanked for the present, saying he had already heard of me.

With the Hanoverian Ambassador, was asked by one of his Servants what I wanted, I answered I had a small present for the Ambassador. He asked what it was, I answered two Books, High Dutch one for the Ambassador and one for his first Secre-

tary, and shewing him the Books he desired to know if he might open them. I desired he would not, being willing to present them to the Ambassador myself, and that I had also a particular letter for the ambassador, asking him if he was his Secretary, he said no, the ambassador had none with him, on which he went to the ambassador and returning desired the Books, the ambassador being Engaged, and having given him the Books and Letter, he read the Letter and Carried them to the ambassador and returning said the ambassador thanked me but could not speak to me being ill.

8ber, 2. With the Pope's Nuncio. Requested me very Friendly to come in, In the Convent of the Dominicans, and delivered to him two Books Latin, one for him and one for the Pope with a Letter, which he read aloud, there was some part of it seemed to displease, saying he should take an opportunity to answer in writing asking if any Quakers lived at Amsterdam, and how many, asking also in what Language the Books were, I said Latin, and having looked in them He asked if I was [a] Quaker, I answered, yes. He said further there were many Christians and many Books wrote, but True and Real Christianity consisted in obeying the Commands of Christ, to which I fully assented. He asked further what Religion my forefathers were off. I asked for how many Generations he meant. He answered for a Thousand years or for three or four Generations. I answered I knew no otherwise but that my very first forefathers were Believers in Almighty God and in his Son Christ Jesus and in his Grace to the Sanctifying their Conscience. To which he answered that is a good Faith, yet there were some necessary Circumstances required to attend it and asked If I thought any under the Catholick Religion would be saved. I answered I had no freedom to Judge of another man's Conscience. He answered every one must have a Faith or Judgement in him or Else there would be no Difference between Heathen, Jew, Turk, or Christian, therefore you may certainly Judge in this Case. I Friendly desired to be Excused from Judging my fellow mortalls, for I found no freedom to Judge any other than myself; but as this was done by Interpretation it was very Difficult. The Nuncio further asked what I must have for them. I said

nothing, yet he pressed very much for me to take some Recompence, but I said it was recompence sufficient for me if he took the Books, being one for his Principle and one for himself, which seemed to please him and He thanked me for the present.

8ber, 3. With the Swedish Ambassador, very Friendly Received and delivered two Books High Dutch, one for the King and one for him with the Letter. He Thanked me saying he would deliver the Book, but he was not satisfied till I sat down with him. He offered me Coffee or Chocolate asking me further if I brought the Books from England and if I had signed the Letter. I answered no, but it was signed by the Principal men of our Society in London. He said also he had already heard of my affair, to which I said I did not know that there was an ambassador from Sweeden at Aix La Chappelle he being Incognito, otherwise I should have waited on him before, on wh. I took my Leave and he wished me a good Journey.

NORTH CAROLINA TO INDIANA IN 1824.

BY CHARLES F. COFFIN.

[The following paper, by our friend Charles F. Coffin, is a fitting supplement to his previous papers in the *Bulletin*, on Friends in Indiana (vol. 2, pp. 2-11; see also vol. 2, p. 24). It is reprinted in full by permission from *Western Work*, April, 1909, Oskaloosa, Iowa.—EDITOR.]

In the spring of 1818 my father, Elijah Coffin, made a journey on horseback from North Carolina to Indiana and back. During this journey he saw different parts of the state and looked from that time towards removing. He married two years later and continued to reside in Guilford county North Carolina, until 1824, when he says in his journal: "My wife's father, Benjamin Hiatt, having determined to remove to the western country with his family, we set off together, leaving our native state in the Eighth month of 1824. We were favored to reach the neighborhood of Milford, Indiana, in about four weeks, in which we settled, and I took up a school in the village of Milton."

They left their native state with regret. While the soil in many places had become impoverished it had a delightful climate and beautiful forests and their friends and associates of a life time resided there, but the existence of slavery and the consequent troubles likely to arise, which afterwards did arise, led them to remove to a free state.

My father and mother at the time had two children, Miriam Allinson, aged about three and one-half years, and Charles Fisher, aged about eighteen months.

When it was found that they had settled on removal, a number of their friends joined the party, which finally increased, including children and grown folks to about forty. There were no public conveyances between the two states and turnpike roads were unknown at that time. In order to perform the journey they procured two-horse wagons, covered with white cotton cloth to protect them from the rain and weather. Such wagons were very familiar in Indiana a few years later, 1830-40 and '50, as there were large numbers of movers passing frequently over the national road from Ohio and Indiana to the western states. They camped out at night and took with them only such bedding, tents, and clothing as seemed essential. They had also to provide articles of food which would supply them through the journey, gathering on the way additional provisions as they needed, for themselves and their horses. No doubt they presented a picturesque and interesting appearance as the large number of wagons passed in procession along the way. They averaged probably twenty to thirty miles a day and when night came usually stopped beside a stream where they could obtain a supply of water, erect their tents and spend the night. They traveled slowly and had frequently to double the teams; that is, taking four horses upon one wagon and going back for the other. Of course, when able to do so, they walked, and I have heard my aunt, Esther Hiatt, (afterwards Dickinson) who was a young girl at the time, tell of leading me up the mountains, which, of course, must have been very slowly, as I was a small child.

It was in many respects a wearisome way of traveling, but had its compensations. They enjoyed the outdoor life and the interesting scenery through which they passed and when they camped

at night there was quite a circle around the camp-fire, for enjoyment and rest after they had partaken of their evening meal. They took their course through western North Carolina and a portion of Virginia to the Cumberland Gap, through which they passed into the Blue Grass Region of Kentucky. Here they found a road which had been traveled for many years, entitled the "Wilderness Road" upon which they continued their journey to the Ohio river at Wayne county, Indiana, to the village of Milton.

The facts here narrated were gathered during the life time in conversations with my parents and those who accompanied them.

I am indebted to my sister, Mary Coffin Johnson for the following:

"Our aged uncle, John Hiatt, just before his death, gave me many particulars of the emigrating colony from North Carolina to Indiana. He recalled the long, tedious journey with great clearness, and indeed made the narrative so interesting that I fortunately took notes of what he said from which I extract the following:

The emigrant colony numbered, as has already been stated, about forty, including children, who were all members of the Society of Friends, and born and brought up in Guilford and Randolph counties, North Carolina. Many of these were near kindred. They started from Guilford county on the 20 of August, 1824, and were four or five weeks on the journey, reaching Milton, Wayne county, Indiana, very early in October. Milton was then but a hamlet containing a few log houses.

There were in the company, the following:

Benajah Hiatt, Elizabeth Hiatt, his wife, and their two daughters, Esther and Hannah Hiatt.

Charity (Williams) Hiatt, mother of Benajah Hiatt.

Elijah Coffin, Naomi (Hiatt) Coffin, his wife and their two children, Miriam Allinson and Charles Fisher [author of this paper].

John Hiatt, Rebecca Hiatt, his wife.

Lydia Jessup, a young woman who was brought up by Benajah and Elizabeth Hiatt.

Miriam Macy, a near relative.

Driver Boon, Anna Boon, his wife and two children, Rachel and Rhoda.

Michael Weasner, Rebecca Weasner, his wife and four children.

Michael Jr., Abigail, Jonathan and Ruth.

Mrs. Mendenhall, mother of Mrs. Weasner.

Isaac Hodson, single young man.

Levi Bowman, single young man.

Lydia Gordon, single young woman.

Miriam Baldwin, single young woman.

Charity (Williams) Hiatt was then upwards of 74 years of age. She lived in Indiana fifteen and a half years and died at Spiceland, Henry county, March 17, 1840.

John Hiatt and his wife, Rebecca, who was the daughter of Josiah and Rebecca Unthank, had been married but six months, the date of their marriage being February 24, 1824, taken from their marriage certificate, on setting out for Indiana.

The Hiatt party had one covered wagon and one which they called a carriage. They carried a tent in which the family slept every night, except two during the entire journey. The bride, Rebecca, and her husband lodged in the wagon.

While traveling in the mountains in Virginia on the way they camped in the vicinity of Joseph Hiatt's and visited him and his family. Joseph Hiatt was the youngest child of our great great grand parents, George and Martha Wakefield Hiatt. He never removed from Virginia.

Our parents spoke in after life of the toilsome journey over the mountains, and of the grand wild scenery. The road, when there was one, was exceedingly poor and rough. The trails were bad and there were no bridges. They were forced to hitch logs of trees they cut by the way, for brakes to the wagons when descending the steep rugged places.

The few mountaineers they saw were living in rude log cabins, on an exceedingly low plane of civilization and morality, steeped in ignorance, shiftless and coarse. Drink was the prevailing curse. They raised small patches of barley and Indian corn, from which they manufactured liquors in domestic stills, erected on the springs, brooks and creeks.

With few exceptions these Quaker emigrants were all young active persons, enjoying excellent health and of good habits. They were a valuable addition to the early settlement of the then young state of Indiana.

CAROLINE EMELIA STEPHEN.

In the death of Caroline Emelia Stephen, Fourth Month 7th, 1909, the Society of Friends loses one of its ablest writers and most distinguished members. She was born in 1835 and came of a family remarkable for literary and legal attainments. Her grandfather, James Stephen (1758-1832), was a well-known barrister, a brother-in-law of William Wilberforce, and an active supporter of the anti-slavery movement; he was a member of Parliament, and published, in his old age, "Slavery in the British West India Colonies Delineated," 2 vols., 1824, 1830. He was an adherent of the so-called "Clapham Sect." Her father, Sir James Stephen (1789-1859), was a Colonial Under-Secretary of the British Government, and from his ability and long service had great influence; he prepared the bill for abolishing slavery in the British Colonies; was made K. C. B. and Privy Councillor, and was Professor of Modern History at Cambridge (1849-1859). His "Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography" (1849), after going through several editions, have been republished within a few months and are of much interest; the essays on "Hildebrand," "The Port Royalists," "The Founders of Jesuitism," give vivid pictures, which live in the memory of those who have read them. His "Lectures on the History of France," (1851) 2 volumes, are still of much value for the history of the early political institutions of that country.

Her brother, Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, Baronet (1829-1894), was, like his father, a barrister; was a distinguished judge; Professor of Common Law at Inns of Court; K. C. S. I., 1877; D.C.L., Oxford, 1878; LL.D., Edinburgh, 1884. He was a frequent contributor to *Fraser's*, and *Cornhill* magazines, to the *Saturday Review*, and to *The Pall Mall Gazette*. His chief works

are: "The Criminal Law of England," "History of the Criminal Law," "Story of Nucomar."*

Another brother, Sir Leslie Stephen (1832-1904), was widely known for his literary work, and was the editor, until his health failed, of the great "Dictionary of National Biography." He published, "History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century," "Life of Henry Fawcett," "Life of Sir James Fitzjames Stephen," "Hours in a Library," "Studies of a Biographer," etc. He was a contributor to *Fraser's Magazine*, *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Saturday Review*, and was editor of the *Cornhill Magazine*, also of the *English Men of Letter Series*, to which he contributed the volumes on Johnson, Pope, Swift and George Eliot.

A nephew, James Kenneth Stephen (1859-1892), son of Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, had the reputation of being one of the ablest men and greatest wits of his day at Cambridge. He published a volume of verses.

With such ancestry and such surroundings it is not surprising that Caroline Stephen shared in the ability of her family. Her brothers gave up the faith of their fathers and became strong agnostics, and it seemed possible that she might follow their example. How it came about that she did not, may be told in her own words: . . . "In 1872 I first found myself within reach of a Friends' Meeting, and, somewhat to my surprize, cordially made welcome to attend it. The invitation came at a moment of need, for I was beginning to feel with dismay that I might not much longer be able conscientiously to join in the Church of England service; not for want of appreciation of its unrivalled richness and beauty, but from doubts of the truth of its doctrines, combined with a growing recognition that to me it was as the armor of Saul in its elaboration and in the sustained pitch of religious fervor for which it was meant to provide an utterance. . . . The questionings with which at that period I was painfully struggling were stirred into redoubled activity by the dogmatic statements and assumptions with which the Liturgy abounds, and its unbroken flow left no loophole for the utter-

*His contributions to the *Saturday Review* were collected under the title "Horae Sabbaticae." The writer of this notice once saw the book put under works on the Sabbath.

ance of my own less disciplined, but to myself far more urgent cries of help.... I do not attempt to pass any judgment on this mental condition.... At any rate, it was fast leading me to dread the moment when I should be unable either to find the help I needed, or to offer my tribute of devotion, in any place of worship amongst my fellow-Christians. When lo, on one never-to-be-forgotten Sunday morning, I found myself one of a small company of silent worshippers, who were content to sit down together without words, that each might feel after and draw near to the Divine Presence, unhindered at least, if not helped, by any human utterance.'.... My whole soul was filled with the unutterable peace of the undisturbed opportunity for communion with God—with the sense that at last I had found a place where I might, without the faintest suspicion of insincerity, join with others in simply seeking His presence. To sit down in silence could at least pledge me to nothing; it might open to me (as it did that morning) the very gate of heaven." (Quaker Strongholds, pp. 2-4, 4th edition, London, 1907.)

As is indicated by the above extracts from her deeply interesting account, it was the mystical side of the doctrines of Friends that specially appealed to her, and that this is so is shown by all her writings, and is beautifully set forth in the concluding paragraph of the "Preface to the Edition of 1907 (4th)" of "Quaker Strongholds":

"To be willing to give up the outward for the inward, the surface for the central depth, the seen and temporal for the unseen and eternal, is the very law of spiritual life and growth. Let us resolutely obey that law; and then though our Society may dissolve and pass away, our customs and traditions may be altered, our very thought may be changed and corrected by the power of truth, yet the Light shall shine more and more—the Light which shines in the innermost and central region of our being and of all being—the Light of the Spirit—"the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ"—the glory of the Cross. This is the central Light of Life."

In the 90's she took up her residence at "The Porch," Newnham, near Cambridge, and made that her home for the rest of her life.

Her chief works, so far as known, are: "The Service of the Poor," being An Inquiry into the Reasons for and against the establishments of Religious Sisterhoods for Charitable Purposes," London, 1871; "Quaker Strongholds," London, 1890, 4th edition, 1907; "The Right Honorable "Sir James Stephen, K.C.B., LL.D., Letters with Biographical Notes by his daughter Caroline Emelia Stephen, Printed for Private Circulation only [Gloucester] 1906"; "Light Arising, Thoughts on the Central Radiance, Cambridge and London, 1908." This, her last volume, is a collection of papers "written on various occasions and at considerable intervals," from "the point of view of Rational Mysticism."

No one of our generation has written more clearly, more forcibly, or more sanely on the "Inner Light." The "Rational Mysticism" meant, she defines, as "emphatically a consciousness of the clear shining of spiritual light; of the light of truth as to whatever is deepest and most permanent and far reaching in its spiritual import and ethical character; the light by which we are led to prefer high and noble ideals to any mere self-gratification; the light in which we see that he who will save his life shall lose it, and that there is nothing worth having in exchange for our souls."

The great divergence of her religious views, from those of her distinguished brothers, in no degree lessened her affectionate and cordial relations with them.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

COLLECTIONS IN FRIENDS' MEETINGS.—It is probable that few Friends are aware that collections were formerly made in meetings. From the accounts of the treasurers of Chester Monthly Meeting, Pennsylvania, some interesting items are obtained. The particular meetings composing this were known at first by the names of the persons at whose houses they were held, as Bartholomew Coppock's (Springfield), Thomas Minshall's (Providence), and John Bowater's (Middletown). The first accounts are those of Walter Faucet.

1692

1 mo. 7 d. to 2^{lb} 8^s 1^d now received in cash of ye generall collections.

2 4 to six shill more rec'd in Cash at Chester meeting Collection ye 27th of ye first mon. Last.

to five shill. & four pence half peney rec'd of bartholomew Coppock for ye two last Collections of that meeting.

2 24 to sixe shill & sixe pence rec'd in cash this day of Chester meeting Collection.

to two shill & three pence rec'd now in Cash from John Bowater's meeting Collection.

Thomas Minshall's Meeting is first mentioned in the 11 month. There was some irregularity in the returns at first, but as conditions improved they appear to have been made monthly, and especially after 1695, when Randal Vernon became treasurer. These returns were made at the monthly meetings, but whether the collections were made in the several meetings weekly or monthly cannot be stated, though probably the latter. It was noted, 10 Mo. 28, 1696, there were no collections "by reason of a great meeting at Concord yesterday," and in the monthly meeting "It is ordered at this meeting that there bee a perticular Collection in every first Days meeting on the accompt of Jeremiah Langly, and to bee brought to the next monthly meeting."

7 Mo. 27, 1697: "Collections was omitted, having Collected for ye relief of friends in new england." Elsewhere the amounts collected for this purpose appear thus: Coppock's, 8-0-6; Minshall's, 1-8-0; Bowater's, 8-8-5; Chester, 13-6-0, or a total of £31-2-11.

On 7 Mo. 29, 1701, "There is no Collections brought to this meeting therefore it is disayred to be dubbed the next time." When the original minutes were transcribed by Thomas Chalkley, about 1709, he changed it to read, "itt is agreed that Care bee Taken next time."

The next report was not till two months later, when something more than double the usual collections appear. The collections for the year 1704 amounted to £23-3-5. No accounts have been preserved after 1705. After 1700 the names of Providence, Springfield and Middletown appear.

GILBERT COPE.

THE GEORGE FOX LOT IN PHILADELPHIA.—In No. 3 *Bulletin*, Vol. 1, p. 89, a question was asked concerning this property. Prior to 1867 the author of *The Fells of Swarthmoor Hall* applied to Philadelphia Friends for some definite information regarding it. The following from their reply sheds some light upon the subject:

"In the year 1681, William Penn gave to George Fox a receipt for £25, which was to entitle him to a city lot in the newly planned city of Philadelphia, a liberty lot of sixteen acres in the suburbs, and a tract of 1,250 acres in the back lands of Pennsylvania. The above sum being a necessary item to secure a legal transfer. There being no one in America interested in getting these lots of land located and properly conveyed to George Fox, nothing was done to perfect the possession until after his death.

Some years after that event Thomas Lower took measures to have the lots surveyed, and his father's directions concerning the way in which they should be used made fully known. In the mean time the city lot had been taken possession of by a settler and built upon etc. William Penn then

authorised Friends to select twenty or twenty-five acres, according to the locality fixed on in the neighbourhood of the city,—instead of the sixteen and the city lot first proposed. After much delay, the transfer was accomplished on the 28th day of 6th Mo. 1705, and for many years this was merely occupied as pasture ground.

Eleven years later, on the 13th of 12th mo. 1716, Thomas Lower wrote to David Lloyd—William Penn's deputy—concerning the ground bestowed by George Fox. He said George Fox gave it in writings to the Friends of Philadelphia to be converted to these uses.—To build a meeting-house for the use of Friends, upon another part a school-house, and to enclose another part for a garden, and to plant it with all sorts of physical plants, for the lads and lasses to learn simples there. and the uses to convert them to,—distilled waters, oils, ointments, &c. The residue, belonging to the lot near Philadelphia to be paid about for Friends that come to the Meeting to put their horses in."

"Thomas Lower, in this letter, seems to be remonstrating with Friends for not having carried out the expressed wishes of the donor . . . As to the garden, which was to be planted with all sorts of physical plants for the botanical studies of the lads and lasses of Philadelphia, the Friends of that day it is evident did not enter into the views of their honoured and revered friend who presented the ground for that purpose. . . .

Fifty-one years later, in 1767,

collateral heirs of George Fox,—descendants of his brother John,—several of whom had settled in Pennsylvania, came forward to claim this property. Some informality in the transfer, or the failure to appropriate to the purposes specified by George Fox, seemingly led to their action. Legal arbitration followed, and the Friends to obtain a clear title to the property, were obliged to pay \$2,500 to these claimants.

In the early part of the last century, by the joint approval of the five monthly meetings in Philadelphia, the ground thus obtained was all sold for building lots, except a portion which constitutes a part of the Fair Hill burial-ground, which is the property of the Green Street monthly meeting, now composed of 'Hicksite' Friends."

In *The Fells of Swarthmoor*, is also found this rather interesting supposition regarding the special lot queried after.

"George Fox's idea of inaugurating a Philadelphia Botanic Garden, so much in advance, as it appears, of the age he lived in, and so little as we might suppose likely to be suggested by his own pursuits, may find a solution in the fact that Thomas Lawson, the famous botanist, was his and the Swarthmoor family's intimate friend. And Lawson was more than a mere botanist; the medical properties of plants claimed his especial attention. Croese, speaks of him as the greatest herbalist in England; and we may remember that one of the items copied from

the Swarthmoor account book proves that he gave the family at the Hall instruction in the medicinal use of herbs.

That George Fox, under these circumstances perceived the importance of promoting such tastes and researches as his Philadelphia plan embraces, is in no way surprising" [pp. 392-398].

M. G. S.

MARRIAGE OF ROBERT EWER TO WILLIAM CODDINGTON'S WIDOW.—Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*, Vol. 1, p. 301, states that the widow of William Coddington Esq. became the wife of Robert Ewer, (a Friend, owner of Black Horse Alley, Philad.) Date of item 1693.

Is there any known record of this marriage?

MARY G. SWIFT.

Millbrook, N. Y., 26-4-09.

SIR MATTHEW HALE AND QUAKER MARRIAGES.—The following incident is taken from the preface by Dr. Gilbert Burnet, Lord Bishop of Sarum, to the "Contemplations, Moral and Divine," by Sir Matthew Hale, Kt. (1609-1676), late Chief Justice of the King's-Bench. It is contained in the old book published in 1745, in Glasgow, by R. Urie and Company, for J. Gilmour, Bookseller, opposite Gibson's Land. It will be remembered that at the common law, a man upon marriage assumed his wife's debts.

"He was a devout Christian, a sincere protestant, and a true son of the church of England; moderate towards dissenters, and just even to those from whom he differed most; which appeared signally in the care he took of preserving the Quakers, from that mischief that was like to fall on them, by declaring their marriages void, and so bastarding their children; but he considered marriage and succession as a right of nature, from which none ought to be barred, what mistake soever they might be under, in the points of revealed religion.

And therefore in a trial that was before him, when a Quaker was sued for some debts owing by his wife before he married her; and the Quaker's council pretended, 'That it was no marriage that had past between them, since it was not solemnized according to the rules of the church of England'; he declared, that he was not willing, on his own opinion, to make their children bastards, and gave directions to the jury to find it special. It was a reflection on the whole party, that one of them, to avoid an inconvenience he had fallen in, thought to have preserved himself by a defence, that if it had been allowed in law, must have made their whole issue bastards, and incapable of succession; and for all their pretended friendship to one another, if this judge had not been more their friend, than one of those they so called, their posterity had been little beholding to them."

F. R. T.

CERTIFYING MEETING HOUSES, 1689, 1700.—[The two following documents illustrate some of the difficulties which Dissenters from the Church of England had to contend with in England in the Seventeenth Century. William III. would have had freedom of worship, but the English Parliament would not consent. All places of worship not belonging to the State church had to be registered, and the services had to be open to the public and with unfastened doors. The Parliament also refused to repeal laws passed during the previous reign to suppress non-conformity, but made them of none effect by special acts exempting those breaking the laws from any penalty. The documents are from the collections of the late Charles Roberts.—Ed.]

Bucks. These are to Certifie all whom it may concern that at the generall Quarter Sessions of the Peace holden for the county aforesaid at Heffing Wycomb upon Thursday next after the close the ffest of St. Michael the Archangell (videlt) The Tenth Day of October in the first year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady William and Mary by the grace of God of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King and Queen Defenders of the ffaith etc. The meeting place called Tylers Scituate [?] being in the Hamlet of Seare Green in the parish of Ffarnham Royall in the County aforesaid not inhabited was in open Co'rt Certified to their Ma'ties Justices of the Peace

to be a public meeting place for Religious Wor'pp for the people called Quakers And is recorded at the said gen'all Quarter Sessions according to the direction of an Act of this pr'snt Parliament Entituled An Act for Exempting their ma'ties Protestant Subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the Penalty of certain Lawes.

Signed and Dated the fourteenth day of October in the first year of their said ma'ties reigne Anno Di'ni 1689.

THO SMITH (? ?)

22 May 1700

These are to certifie whom it may concern that there is a house built on purpose for the Religious Worshipp for the people called Quakers at the West end of the Oakstreet in Abington in the

county and Archdeaconry of Berks which said house is Certified to and allowed of by the Archdeacon of Berks for the use aforesaid and Registered in his court according to the Act of Parliamt in that case made and provided witness my hand

JO GREENWAY REG^r.

The Friends' Historical Society is indebted to Joseph H. Coates of Philadelphia, for a bundle of old vouchers of John Reynell, a Treasurer of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in the Eighteenth Century. The papers range from 1755 to 1782 and cover many points of interest. The receipts were the Treasurer's personal vouchers. It is hoped to make use of these papers in a future number of the BULLETIN.

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia

Contents

| | |
|---|-----|
| Advice to Philadelphia Friends by Dr. John Fothergill and David Barclay, 1775, Isaac Sharpless..... | 104 |
| Spread of Quakerism in America, Gilbert Cope..... | 111 |
| North Carolina Yearly Meeting of 1845, Joseph Crosfield.. | 115 |
| Transfer of Meetings Between Philadelphia and Baltimore Yearly Meetings, 1790 and 1819, Allen C. Thomas..... | 122 |
| John Boweter and Friends' Meetings in America, 1677-1678. | 131 |
| Outfits of Travelling Ministers in the Eighteenth Century... | 135 |
| Nantucket Friends in 1799 and 1809, Richard Mott and Row- land Greene | 139 |
| John Boweter's "Testimony Concerning George Fox"..... | 143 |
| Some Books of Interest to Friends Issued in 1909..... | 145 |
| Notes and Queries: | 148 |
| Cotton Mather and William Penn—The William H. Jenks Collection of Friends' Tracts—Haverford Meeting House—Semi-Centennial of Twentieth Street Meeting House, New York City—Women Friends Call to Service—Walter Scott's Quakeress Friend—Journal of Friends' Historical Society— William Penn's Defence of His Wig—Goal, Gaol, Jail—Profession of Faith. | |
| Annual Meeting, 1910, Mary S. Allen..... | 155 |
| George Fox's Dutch Testament—Joshua L. Baily..... | 156 |
| Exhibition of Articles of Historic Interest..... | 157 |
| List of Officers, 1910..... | 161 |

NOTE.—The Editor does not hold himself responsible for any statements made in contributed articles.

All communications for the BULLETIN should be addressed to Allen C. Thomas, Editor, Haverford, Pa.

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Subscriptions, \$1 per annum. All members receive the BULLETIN free.

DR. FOTHERGILL'S ADVICE TO PHILADELPHIA
FRIENDS.

At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War Dr. Franklin for America, and Dr. Fothergill and David Barclay for England tried to find some common ground to settle the dispute. The matter is explained in full in Franklin's works, and also in a letter of David Barclay to James Pemberton, probably never published, but which substantially agrees with Franklin's account. The plan failed to receive the approval of the English Government, and war seeming inevitable, Franklin sailed for America, bearing with him the following letter of advice from Dr. Fothergill to James Pemberton, which, I suppose, except short extracts, has not been printed. James Pemberton, by his prominence alike in the Government and the Yearly Meeting, was much relied on to steer the course of Friends in the trying days to come.

It will be noted that Dr. Fothergill advises a more conciliatory course towards the new government than Friends thought proper to pursue. Had they simply testified against war they would probably have had a better standing with the Americans than was afterwards the case. But they brought out an old English testimony against revolution and changes in the government and pledged the Yearly Meeting to have nothing to do with the revolutionary movement and the machinery set up by it in Pennsylvania. They had provocation to this in the abolition of Penn's charter and the treatment accorded to them. Yet we can hardly doubt that had they followed Dr. Fothergill's advice they would have avoided the charge of Toryism, which was only partially true. But James Pemberton, himself a British sympathizer, though quietly so, and his friends committed the Yearly Meeting to a policy of non-recognition of the American cause, which was exceedingly troublesome, and as the American cause finally triumphed, makes historic explanations rather awkward. The wisdom of Dr. Fothergill's counsel is now evident.

I. S.

DR. J. FOTHERGILL TO JAMES PEMBERTON.

London, 3 mo. 17, 1775.

Dear friend

Tho' I am exceedingly straitened for time by almost unceasing application in the duty of my profession, I could not let my friend Dr. Franklin return without some proof of my remembrance of my friends in America, tho' this is the only letter I have time to write at present.

Perhaps Dr. F. will inform thee sometime or other that D. Barclay and myself have not neglected taking every step in our power to promote a reconciliation, tho' ineffectually.

The present troubles must continue untill both sides are more disposed to a good understanding, and indeed if bloodshed may but be prevented, the continuance of this kind of war—acts of Parliament on one side, resolves on the other—may be continued till both sides being tired, they may think worth while to lay passion and resentment aside and think of ways and means to cement a better understanding. We have labored so much in the affair, as to be thoroughly satisfied that no good can be done at present. We are heady and high-minded, and must perhaps by the means of your steady adherence to prudent resolutions be brought to more just sentiments on this subject. I may have occasion perhaps to speak more fully hereafter, and indeed I must trust to the leisure of my friends here, to acquaint thee with many things that pass here, in which America is much interested. To enter upon the subject is too much for me,—I shall only here observe, that Friends here have thought it expedient to present a petition to the King, that every means might be tried to effect a reconciliation without bloodshed, and that it has not been unfavorably received. It was delivered this day, and it was proposed to the Meeting for Sufferings, to appoint a Com. to draw up an answer to the Epistle, received from your Meeting for Sufferings, which will probably be done in the course of next week. We have seen the *Testimony* given out by Friends, and the nation has seen it. We doubt not but that it was thought right and proper such advice should be given.

I believe we shall send you a copy of our petition—in which we have endeavored to be as general as possible. Whether it will be published here by authority or not, we know not yet.

I think it will be your greatest safety and wisdom, to keep close to one another—to yield to the times, neither to relax your care, one over another, nor to lean to the violent, or to join the obsequious. Your all in this life is at stake—life, liberty, and property. I had wrote the enclosed to thyself some time ago, at the time I was answering a letter, which we, your representatives, had received from thy brother Israel. I did not find the time then to transcribe it with the necessary alterations, and I now have much less ability. As it may contain some little information of the present complexion of the times, I send it as it is. Make no public use of it. It contains my own opinions solely. A few words more, and I must have done, and this to thyself. If America relaxes, both you and we are undone. I wish Friends would studiously avoid everything adverse either to administration here on one side, or the Congress on the other. Submission to the prevailing power must be your duty. The prevailing power is the general voice of America. Your contending for your privileges by the most innocent yet effectual means of waging war, showing your usefulness.

From the little I have had an opportunity of seeing, it seems to me that an oppressive, unjust tyrannical spirit possesses the chief in power here, who are as regardless of the happiness of America as the mandarins of China, provided they should not be losers themselves by the contest. Mind your own business, and neither court unworthily the favor of your superiors on this side, nor oppose with vehemence the party which steps forward, in the protection of your liberties which are all at stake."

On the following day, and doubtless sent by the same messenger, David Barclay wrote to James Pemberton in explanation of their efforts to avert the war:

London, 3rd mo. 18, 1775.

Esteemed friend

I wrote thee the 5th Ult. per Capt. Falkner, who I fear has been long detained by contrary winds in our channel. I wish

it was now in my power to communicate to thee more agreeable intelligence than I then did. By the public papers thou wilt learn what is generally known and thereby in some measure be able to judge of the complexion of men and things; but as every information will be necessary for some men to know on your side, my fellow laborer and much esteemed friend Dr. Fothergill joins me in the opinion of freely communicating to thee matters which none but Dr. Franklin and ourselves are privy to. Thou must know that before the arrival of the resolutions of the Congress, a negociation was set on foot to lay the foundation for a conciliatory plan lest the resolutions of the Congress should prove such as might render it impossible for mediators to stand forth, and Dr. Fothergill and myself having reason to believe that such a plan would be very acceptable to some of the ostensible ministers we invited Dr. Franklin to aid in his attempt and we had the satisfaction of finding him very ready to lend his assistance in this desirable work by which J F and myself were enabled to lay before two lords high in office a paper entitled *Hints* (copy of which is enclosed) which we were given to understand were at that time inadmissible, but we learnt that they had been shown high and considered to contain matter worth notice. In this state the resolutions of the Congress arrived and gave not a little umbrage to the ministry as appeared by their conduct within and without doors, which after the first impression appearing a little to subside with some in the ministry we had an intimation given by a noble person, (not an ostensible minister) that, if we had anything to offer more likely to produce the desired end (conciliating measures) than the Hints which we had lately given then was the period before it was too late declaring at the same time that he had nothing particular to propose.

This produced a meeting and a fair discussion of the articles contained in the Hints and a declaration that we were determined to do nothing without Dr. Franklin who had been instrumental in framing those Hints i.e. without knowing his sentiments and coinciding with him as far as we should think his opinion was founded on propriety. This we accordingly complied with and which after several conferences enabled us to produce a paper entitled a Plan (a copy of which is also enclosed) which we had

some reason to believe was not disapproved by the noble Lord who acted as a mediator excepting the fourth Article which we apprehended never could be given up and which he apprehended could not be granted, as we were given to understand that the Charters of Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and Rhode Island must be altered. At the same time a person of high rank (of the first reputation here and equal reputation in your Continent) was by both sides agreed to be the most proper person to be sent from hence to effect this business and our plan was, for Dr. Franklin to go at the same time with the olive Branch.

From this period we never could make any advancement nor obtain any concession—we alledged that all the chartered governments would be so essentially concerned in the violation of the Charters that they could not but consider any mutilation of them (without consent of those immediately concerned in them) as a neighbor's house that was on fire and that the same power which could alter the one might annihilate all the others on the continent or extend the limits of Quebec throughout America; a mode of government that appeared very pleasing to many in this Kingdom and as odious to those who have any regard to the Constitution, and render them more so by a palliative thrown out by ministry that the K. had sent over his edict to permit English subjects to be governed by the Laws of England during his royal pleasure. To which we added that Pennsylvania of all the other provinces had the greatest reason to be alarmed as the freedom of their Charter had tended so much to the flourishing state of that country by the uncontrolled exercise of their civil and religious liberties.

Thou wilt observe that Lord North has thought proper to adopt a part of our proposed plan in his resolution but how far you will be allured thereby or any other of the present plans intended to *Devide*, time must show; for my part I confess I am concerned to observe (as are many others of your best friends here) that any disposition should appear in America towards that unhappy tendency;—I allude to the Publications of Friends which are now made a handle of to the disadvantage of the community the language of the Court being that they have the Quakers approbation of their measures in particular the testimony of the

24th of 1st month in which we think there are some hard words that we could have wished had been omitted as they seemed to convey that which we hope is not in your hearts, an inclination to obtain favor at the expense of others. The declaration of our religious and peaceable principles every body must approve and there (on that ground) your best friends wish you to remain; unless it is the inclination of the Society generally to give up that Palladium which we have always understood to be (under Providence) your great temporal advantage beyond your brethren on this side the Atlantic. Pray attend to this hint in your future operations and let nothing of a contrary tendency be thrown before the public who are so deeply interested in the conduct of their fellow-subjects.

Our meeting for Sufferings have been lately engaged on your accounts, first, with the petition to parliament in favor of the inhabitants of the Island of Nantucket who were included in the act to restrain the trade of N. England provinces and take away their fisheries; by the former part of the Bill they are obliged by law to come to Great Britain or Ireland for their subsistence and by the latter the means of obtaining it were to be taken away; but fortunately for them, it was found out this Kingdom could not with any conveniency do without their Spermin or oil and they have obtained permission to continue their fishing for the public convenience but not from any consideration of their being a people to whom no guilt is imputed and as a proof thereof every means has been pursued without effects to obtain for them a liberty of receiving subsistence from their sister colonies. Things being in this situation and the minds of many weighty Friends having been long impressed with an anxious concern that endeavors might be tried, to influence the conduct of our sovereign, at this alarming conjuncture, the Society (from the Meeting for Sufferings) yesterday presented An Address and Petition to the king, setting forth our gratitude for the protection and indulgence we have received, our affection to our brethren and fellow-subjects in America, our apprehensions of calamities in the whole British empire, our desire of promoting his royal intention of effecting a reconciliation with America, our opinion of the loyalty of his subjects amongst all denominations in America,—and our petition

that the sword may be stayed, and by other means a permanent reconciliation effected, on that firm foundation, the reciprocal interest of each part of the British Empire. This petition was presented by Doctor Fothergill, who was attended by Thomas (Conbyn ?), Jacob Hagen, and myself, and the Secretary of State having had a copy thereof a day before, (for the king's perusal etc.) we were introduced by him to the Lord Chamberlain at the Public Levee, and we were given to understand, that it was *graciously* received, and that the mark thereof was the king's, asking each of our names, and speaking to each of us,—a circumstance or favor we were told, that was never remembered to have been shown to any person who delivered a *petition*,—a petition being always received different from an *address*, on any circumstance of congratulation; which is read to the king, and to which he generally gives an answer, if approved. I confess I don't expect, at the present juncture, much advantage to arise from the petition, further than that of all others, *the most desirable*, a satisfaction to the minds of those, who wish to leave nothing unassayed, that might have the most distant prospect of doing good, and strengthening the hands of those in the ministry, who are against sanguinary measures.

Nothing I think remains for me to add on public matters, but that I have sent herewith the bill, for restraining the trade of South Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey, and your own province which has been twice read in the House of Commons, and thou wilt observe that the lower counties are not included with an intention as I am informed to *divide*, by holding out the town of Wilmington, against the port of Phila. and I doubt not of its passing into an act speedily. Thou wilt receive some other publications herewith for thy information, which thou wilt communicate as may see proper, but the *material* part, of this letter thou wilt keep entirely to thyself, or communicate with such caution to any particular person to whom thou mayst think it necessary—for the *public weal*, that no part of the affair may be returned back hither, as it may prove very disadvantageous, and disagreeable in its consequences. Dr. Franklin knows my intention of this communication, and I hope and doubt not, but that thou wilt cooperate with him in every measure, that shall

appear the most probable to effect a happy and cordial reconciliation, between both countries and not permit any man, or set of men, to adopt measures that may tend to widen the breach, which must inevitably prove prejudicial to the whole British Empire, and if it is possible to prevent blood-shed. I am not yet without hope, and indeed a firm belief, that all will come right at last, and that concord may be once more established, to the satisfaction of the greatest part of this kingdom.

SPREAD OF QUAKERISM IN AMERICA.

BY GILBERT COPE.

It may be of interest to some to note briefly the growth of the Society of Friends in America. In England, where they originated, the population was already well distributed and comparatively free from migrations. Congregations sprang up here and there from the teachings of traveling ministers. On this side of the ocean the people did not at first exist; they must be brought over and planted, as seed, in the first available ground, which was naturally near the coast, whence in the course of time they spread inland.

Some settled in New England at an early date; others in Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina; but the most important colonization was on the shores of the Delaware, and largely through the influence of William Penn. He was first interested in New Jersey, and at Salem, in 1675, a colony was established, with another at Burlington two years later. A few who came over under the auspices of the New Jersey colonists crossed the river to what became Pennsylvania, and a meeting was established at Chester. With the arrival of the Pennsylvania colonists other meetings were established at Chichester, Concord, Darby, Philadelphia, Bristol, Middletown and Falls, among the English, and at Merion, Haverford and Radnor among the Welsh, all about 1682-3. While the meagre records of the time are silent on the subject it may be assumed that each meeting was established with the sanction of an earlier one. From the fact that Burlington Monthly Meeting held a session at Upland (Chester) in 1681, it is evident that the settlers at the latter place were considered

members of Burlington until Chester was set off from it in that same year. Concord Monthly Meeting was established in 1684 by division of Chester, and next came Newark (Kennett), on the east side of the Brandywine, in New Castle County, Del., 1686. Nottingham Meeting, established in 1702 by Concord Friends, was later transferred to Newark, as being much nearer. The Irish Friends who settled in New Garden Township, 1712, were also a branch of Newark, and in 1718, with Nottingham, formed New Garden Monthly Meeting. Then in 1730 Nottingham Monthly Meeting was set apart from New Garden. As with streams of water the current gained in volume as it advanced, and the Valley of the Shenandoah, in Virginia, was invaded, and Hopewell Monthly Meeting was established in 1736. From this many went southward to North Carolina, but about 1769 a few crossed the mountains to the waters of the Monongahela into what became known as the Redstone Settlement in Pennsylvania. In 1776 there were said to be eighteen families there though not closely located. The Indian title had been extinguished by purchase in 1768, and a strong tide soon turned in that direction. In 1780 there were upwards of 150 members of the Society in that region,* but it was not till the next year that Westland Meeting was formally established, in Washington County, Pa. This was followed by Redstone Meeting in Fayette Co., 1784, and Westland Monthly Meeting in 1785.

This proved a veritable gateway to the West. Redstone Monthly Meeting was established in 1793, and Redstone Quarterly Meeting in 1798. The opening to settlement of the North West Territory, as Ohio was termed, brought a strong current of migration from various quarters, and especially from North Carolina, whence, in 1800, the Monthly Meeting of Trent moved bodily, or rather the members thereof, as their organization was dissolved before starting.

Westland Monthly Meeting, taking the initiative, and the Quarterly Meeting confirming, were pretty busily engaged for some years with the establishment of meetings in the new territory. Taking the dates from the latter we find that Concord, in Belmont County and Short Creek in Jefferson County were es-

*See note at end of this paper.—Ed.

tablished as preparative meetings 6th Mo. 1801: Concord Monthly Meeting, 12th Mo. 1801: Fallowfield Preparative Meeting, Washington Co. laid down 9th Mo. 1802, because most of their members had removed to Ohio; also an indulged meeting near the Little Miami River sanctioned: Plymouth Preparative, as a branch of Concord Monthly, and Bethel Preparative in Columbiana Co., 12th Mo. 1802: Bethel (name changed to Middleton) established as a monthly meeting, and Miami Monthly Meeting also 6th Mo. 1803: Plainfield Preparative 12th Mo. 1803, as a part of Concord Mo. Mtg.: Short Creek and Plymouth formed into Short Creek Mo. Mtg., 3d Mo. 1804: Salem Preparative 9th Mo. 1804: Stillwater 6th Mo. 1805: Salem Monthly Meeting 9th Mo. 1805: Cross Creek Preparative, Jefferson Co., and New Garden, Columbiana Co., 12th Mo. 1805: Flushing Preparative 6th Mo. 1806: West Branch and Elk Creek Preparatives and West Branch Mo. Mtg. composed of the two; also Caesar's Creek and Center Preparatives and Center Mo. Mtg. composed of the two (in the Miami region), 12th Mo. 1806: Concord and Short Creek Mo. Mtgs. opened as a Quarterly Meeting 6th Mo. 1807: Fairfield Preparative, Clear Creek and Fall Creek (forming Clear Creek Preparative), and Fairfield Monthly Meeting of the two preparatives, in Highland Co., 9th Mo. 1807: Springfield Preparative (in Salem Monthly), 12th Mo. 1807: Sandy Spring Preparative (in same), 3d Mo. 1808: Salem Quarterly (including Middleton) opened 6th Mo. 1808. Miami Quarterly Meeting established 1809. This terminated the jurisdiction of Redstone Quarterly over the Ohio State, and in 1812 Ohio Yearly Meeting was established by division of Baltimore, but not opened till the following year.

It is understood in the foregoing account that the line of succession has been by division of the older meeting through the monthly meetings of Salem, Burlington, Chester, Concord, Newark, New Garden, Nottingham, Hopewell, Westland.

Another chain of descent may be taken from Philadelphia, 1682, Haverford, 1684, Gwynedd, 1714, Exeter, 1737, Catawissa, 1796, Muncy, 1799, Roaring Creek, 1814.

From New Garden, Pa., we have Sadsbury, in the edge of Lancaster County, 1737; Warrington Mo. Mtg., York County,

1747; Menallen, Adams County, 1780; Dunning's Creek, 1803.

By Quarterly Meetings we will start with Burlington, 1682, Chester (now Concord), 1683, Western, 1758. Warrington and Fairfax, 1776, Fairfax, 1787, Redstone, 1798.

A map of Ohio Yearly Meeting, made at Salem School in 1826, locates the various meetings and gives the membership of each. By Quarterly Meetings the number are these:

| | |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| Redstone, 927. | New Garden, 1,517. |
| Short Creek, 2,586. | Stillwater, 1,925. |
| Salem, 1,918. | |

Whole number of meetings, 53: number of members, 8,873.

For this information as to the state in 1826 I am indebted to Charles Cope, Winona, Ohio.

NOTE.—[The following "Minutes" relate to the foregoing.—EDITOR.]

Report of a Committee appointed by Warrington and Fairfax Quarterly Meeting to visit Friends at Redstone and other places. They "find seventeen families members; eight women and children whose husbands have not a right; one man whose wife and children have not, and six young men; amounting in the whole to upward of 150 persons that have a right of membership—many of the children grown to the state of men and women, and some of them appear hopeful. They are not settled as near and compact together as would have been pleasant to us, yet we have a comfortable hope that divers among them are concerned to seek after an improvement in the truth. We therefore unanimously agree to report as our sense that it will be best for Hopewell Monthly Meeting to observe the direction of the Yearly Meeting in receiving certificates from all such as shall produce them, where upon inspection it don't appear they have misconducted since their removal from the Meetings they belong to, which is nevertheless submitted to the Meeting." "6 mo 8, 1780. To Warrington and Fairfax Quarterly Meeting. . . . We made a list of all the heads of families and the Monthly Meetings they respectively belong to or came from ready to deliver to Hopewell Meeting which being read and considered in this Meeting is agreed to, and as it appears by the Report that Friends thereaway have not settled so near together as would have been pleasant to Friends, it is now earnestly and affectionately recommended to the several Monthly Meetings belonging to this Quarter timely to labor with such as may incline to remove their habitation from place to place that they may have the solid sence of their Friends agreeable to the good orders established amongst us." [Minute of Warrington and Fairfax Quarterly Meeting, 6 mo 19, 1780.] "The said Quarterly Meeting is desired to extend such further care in this matter as occasion may require." [Minute Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1780.]

NORTH CAROLINA YEARLY MEETING OF 1845.

BY JOSEPH CROSFIELD.

The following letter was written by Joseph Crosfield, of England, a young man of twenty-four, who was visiting this country in company with James Hack Tuke, afterwards active in relief work during the Irish famine of 1847-8, and for many years a prominent English Friend. Joseph Crosfield visited this country again immediately after the Civil War, and spent some time in North Carolina. He was for a number of years Clerk of London Yearly Meeting. The letter has been kindly contributed by his son, Albert J. Crosfield, of Cambridge, England, and is printed as written with the exception of a few corrections in the spelling of proper names. As giving the frank impressions of an intelligent young English Friend, which of course were never intended for publication, it is of much interest and value. A view of the Yearly Meeting house referred to was given in THE BULLETIN for Second Month, 1909, and a portrait of Nathan Hunt, wearing the hat described, in THE BULLETIN for Eleventh month, 1907.—ED.

New Garden, North Carolina.

11mo. 6. 1845

My dear father

We arrived here on third day afternoon, the 4th inst. after a very fatiguing journey of eight days and five nights from Louisville in Kentucky. This place is a lovely country meeting house among the woods with not a house in sight of it, the meeting house being a rough barn-like structure of boards unpainted and beside it is the burying ground enclosed within a zigzag rail fence. The graves are overgrown by a sort of small periwinkle & have headstones with the initials of the tenant. In one part of the graveyard a number of soldiers have been buried, the battle of Guilford having been fought in the year 1781 in this immediate neighbourhood & Friends' meeting house was

the British hospital & there are stains of blood upon the oak boards forming the ceiling many feet square these being the floor of the old meeting house. I have not been able to ascertain when the present meeting house was built only Dougan Clark thinks about the year 1791, but Nathan Hunt can tell and one of his grandsons has promised to ascertain about it and write to me. There are graves of the American Soldiers all among the neighbouring woods, Lord Cornwallis having driven General Greene before him all day at this battle. N. H. remembers the soldiers passing his house and they helped themselves to his cattle & provisions. On passing the meeting house we turned up through a narrow track among the trees and after making our way for about a quarter of a mile we arrived at the Schoolhouse a handsome brick building with a small portico. We went into the hall and were very coldly received at first & could not find anyone in authority but inquiring for Eli & Sybil Jones, friends from Maine whom we had met at Cincinnati we were by them introduced to the other friends here. The Superintendent here is Joshua Stanley & the matron a daughter of Nathan Hunt's. We were introduced to N. H. who was very kind and seemed extremely glad to see James Tuke; he is 87 years of age, the 2nd Inst. being his birthday. He had sat in meeting five hours that day and was naturally a good deal fatigued. He inquired particularly after Thomas Thompson to whom he desired his love as also to any friends who remembered him and also talked about my Uncle Wilson who was with him in Ireland. His son Thomas Hunt seems a worthy friend. We are lodged at the school which accomodates about ninety friends, and are very comfortable there being only six friends in our bedroom & they are good company Mahlon Day from New York, Richard [H.] Thomas a minister from Baltimore with his companion Bond Valentine from Pennsylvania & James C. Fuller. There are in the house Dr. Tobey a minister from Providence, R. I., William & Hannah Rhoads from Philadelphia, the latter a minister and a sister of Thomas Evans & a great many other friends from this Yearly meeting. Anna Procter from Baltimore sister in law to uncle Wilson is here & we have met with the greatest kindness and attention now that we are known. We have been introduced

to so many friends that my plan is to shake hands with everybody I meet being totally unable to remember them all. An old friend who has come three hundred miles in his wagon over the most tremendous mountains & rough roads out of Tennessee enquired if I was any relation to Jane Crosfield* who was once in America. His name was Ephraim Lee and in meeting today he complained that he and eight other Tennesseans were at meeting last First day and nobody took any notice of them, a remark which called up several friends from this neighbourhood to excuse themselves and show cause why they did not invite them to their houses. There are only two meals a day here and the food somewhat coarse but we are always invited in with the ministers & have great kindness shown to us. The course of business in this Yearly meeting seems very similar to that at home the representatives having been called over, the epistles read & committees appointed on the first day & on the second the queries answered & the state of Society considered, a discussion that I am very sorry we lost & yesterday being a meeting for worship the business was resumed this morning with the report of a Committee appointed to examine certain papers received from some friends within the compass of New England Yearly Meeting which the Committee decided was not a proper document to be read in the Yearly meeting at large. The Clerk is Aaron Stalker & the assistant Nereus Mendenhall & the appearance of the friends is remarkably primitive many of them being dressed in bright blue their own manufacture, indeed very few wear anything but what they have made themselves. Nathan Hunt is thin & looks feeble and has enflamed eyes & he wears a very large white hat with the brims turned up into a species of cocked form. Dougan Clark wears by far the smartest dress of any of the older friends. The customs of the meetings are peculiar when any minute is read. Nathan Hunt perhaps says "I unite with those remarks" & then follow perhaps fifty friends in quick succession with "So do I" and "I do too" or "I like that" & "I and I" say numbers more all over the meeting. The report of this Committee was followed by their reading a pamph-

*Jane Crosfield was Joseph Crosfield's great-grandmother. She visited America in 1760 and 1761.

let containing a very strong declaration of faith from N. E. Y. M. comprising a powerful statement of friends' principles compiled from George Fox, Robert Barclay &c. & declaring it to be their opinion. This called for a very strong expression of sentiment at least one hundred friends speaking in unity with it the only remark made being by Dougan Clark who said that the seceding friends held those sentiments too. The state of New Garden School was next discussed & they have agreed to raise the price from 60 to 65 dollars. it contains only 34 scholars with accommodation for 100 & there is a constant loss which is a great pity. With this business the meeting concluded. Several times women friends came into our meeting to see if there were any further business & they were shown to a seat near the clerk & on one occasion one of them sat there nearly half an hour & men were sent with messages into the women's meeting one friend being sent to read a minute to them. In their meeting affairs did not go on so smoothly Hannah Rhoads speaking very strongly about the New England papers but she was not seconded Asenath Clark sitting in silence. Nathan Hunt feels very strongly about this sorrowful affair & his opinion keeps this Y. M. very much united. Ohio Y. M. having been very much disunited but Baltimore & Indiana were almost unanimous but it is thought there will be trouble in Philadelphia the Arch Street meeting having taken a decided part in the question. John Pease I find gave great dissatisfaction to the Arch Street friends though very acceptable everywhere else. It requires great discretion on my part these questions being much discussed. Yesterday there was a large meeting two thousand friends being present or rather many of them were persons from the neighbourhood not members. It was a beautiful sight worth coming from England to see that old wooden building among the trees with the crowds of friends dressed in their picturesque & primitive garments and at least 800 horses with every variety of carriage tethered up and down among the woods and rows of women with young children sitting on a log at the women's end of the building & Nathan Hunt standing on the steps waiting for the doors to be opened looking like the patriarch of the assembly made a very interesting spectacle. He feels himself evidently to be the father of the meeting address-

ing them as his dear children & all apply the epithet to themselves old men of 70 or upwards often being the first to respond to him. He spoke at great length in the meeting for worship and Sybil Jones appeared in supplication most beautifully. This evening there has been a meeting for young friends which was convened by Sybil Jones & R. H. Thomas it was a crowded meeting though all were not young and many women with children though not nearly so many as at the meeting for worship yesterday. We were addressed by Rd. H. Thomas & Eli Jones who gave us a remarkable account of his first being called upon to speak & what a difficulty he felt from having such an impediment in his speech as almost to prevent persons from understanding him. He was followed by a N. C. friend named Halkett and then Hannah Rhoads & Sybil Jones. We dined at Dougan Clark's yesterday and were very kindly received & he & Asenath desired their love to my mother and thyself. They live in a very humble way in a wooden house very much out of repair, no carpets & the floor so old & thin as to appear likely to let us through and we could see the daylight through it. They have four sons one of whom is married & lives with his wife and child along with them. They have many handsome friends' books that look as though they had come from England. D. C. is about to build a new house on his own land in a beautiful situation on a hill-side and when built it will be much more comfortable than his present one. We leave here tomorrow for Washington 450 miles from here & I will finish this letter there in time for the packet with the conclusion of the Yearly Meeting. I will take care when in Baltimore & in passing through Providence, R. I. to make the enquiries mentioned in thy letter received at Cincinnati for which I am much obliged.

11 mo 8. I am now writing in a little roadside tavern where we are staying for the night on our way to the railway from Raleigh Northwards towards Richmond. James C. Fuller, J. H. T.[uke] & I are travelling in a light wagon with a good pair of horses and there are eight other friends in two vehicles bound on the same route but having better horses than they we have lost sight of them. Yesterday the Yearly meeting concluded; its sitting commenced with the report of the Committee on accounts

&c & respecting the school. Their amounts are very small, one Q. M. being directed to raise 6 dollars, another 10 & another 17. The Committee reported that they had sold a meeting house for four dollars & incurred two dollars expenses. The principal part of this sitting was occupied by their reading the epistles to the different Y. Ms. & I could not help admiring their unanimity, Nathan Hunt's remarks being followed by a friend named John Bond, an old venerable friend, & the bulk of the meeting always followed them almost without remark. The epistles were brief but laconic & to the point. Nathan Hunt hurried the business forward very much and spoke at some length addressing the young men of the meeting and when the Yearly meeting concluded at N. H.'s request the shutters were opened & he appeared in supplication in a very striking & beautiful manner. He must have been on his knees more than half an hour & he supplicated for the members of our Society wherever scattered over the world enumerating the different regions where any are to be found, imploring that they might be preserved as one people. He then prayed for the ministers who had come from far to attend the Yearly Meeting and finally for the two young men who had come from England that they might be preserved in safety over the deep & be favoured to find their families & friends in health. It was a very solemn opportunity and then we separated. I never had so many kind farewells as on leaving these worthy & primitive friends. Eli & Sybil Jones, the latter a very attractive friend, also took leave of us in a very tender manner & the other strange ministers. Nathan Hunt seemed much affected and his son & daughter bade us farewell too & indeed such affectionate leave takings as are seldom seen were passing on every side. I am truly glad we came indeed my only regret is that our sojourn has been so short among them. We had ninety miles to travel to the Railway and reached a little tavern last night eighteen miles on our way & have come 46 more today. J. C. Fuller is a very entertaining companion tho' a singular looking figure his style of dress being very peculiar.

11 mo. 9. We have now reached Henderson depôt a place on the Railway from Raleigh to Washington and are now waiting for the train to come up, these opportunities for writing a

few lines being too valuable to be lost. We have come through a very poor district; North Carolina being very badly cultivated & the land in many instances worn out; it is singular to observe the alternation of trees here the pine growing up immediately upon land being neglected though the original growth has been oak. We had an interesting journey in many particulars from Louisville in Kentucky here as I hope to write to my mother. We are now fairly on our way home as we have but three weeks remaining in this country which I believe we shall both quit with regret. It is now severely cold we had snow today even in this Southern latitude. We expect to be in Washington tomorrow afternoon where I will post this letter. We shall have to stay or at least to call in Providence, R. I. as the steam boat lands its passengers there to join the Railway in progress from New York to Boston. North Carolina friends do not appear to be working their farm at New Garden to much advantage doing in the way usually followed here of exhausting the land with successive crops of grain. We have seen abundance of cotton & tobacco growing today as we came along. They complain much of the drought thro' N. C. last summer which has had the effect of driving away crowds of people to settle on the richer land of the West many of them being so poor as not to have a cent in their pockets & travelling on foot. I cannot tell how they will ever be able to get through the winter in the West but after that time they will probably do well enough. This will be the last mail by which we can write & in about 16 days after the receipt of this letter I hope we shall be in Liverpool the Caledonia which sails on the 1st prox. not being quite so quick a vessel as the others though equally good. With dear love to my mother, brothers & sisters & thyself I remain thy ever affectionate son

Joseph Crosfield.

TRANSFER OF MEETINGS BETWEEN PHILADELPHIA
AND BALTIMORE YEARLY MEETINGS IN 1790
AND 1819.*

ALLEN C. THOMAS.

It has not unfrequently been asked how is it that Philadelphia Yearly Meeting should have subordinate meetings in Maryland, and Baltimore Yearly Meeting meetings in Pennsylvania.

Comparatively few could answer this question. How it came about will be shown in the following paper.

Philadelphia Yearly Meeting had its origin in a Yearly Meeting set up in Burlington, New Jersey, in the Sixth (now the Eighth) Month, 1681. After this a Yearly Meeting was held annually in Burlington for some years. The first Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia was held in Seventh Month, 1683; and in the same month in 1684 a Yearly Meeting was held in Burlington and also one in Philadelphia. In 1685 the same thing occurred. At that time in Philadelphia, in response to a call issued by the Meeting in 1683 for the establishment of a General Yearly Meeting for Friends of all the North American Colonies, there were present Friends from Rhode Island and Maryland. At this gathering it was concluded that there should be but one Yearly Meeting for the Jerseys and Pennsylvania, to be held alternately at Burlington and Philadelphia "the first First-day in the Seventh Month (now the Ninth Month) for worship, and the Fourth-day to be the men's and women's meetings." The Yearly Meeting continued to be held alternately in the Ninth Month though at a later day, until 1760 when it is recorded, "It appears to be the most general sense that Philadelphia, as it is the nearest central for the body of the Society, it is therefore the most con-

*The writer is greatly indebted to the custodians of Records, of Philadelphia, Baltimore (Eutaw St.), and Baltimore (Park Avenue) Yearly Meetings for extracts from the Minutes of those Meetings, and also on other points to Kirk Brown and Charles Y. Thomas, of Baltimore, and Gilbert Cope, of West Chester, Pa.

venient for that purpose," and since that date the Meeting has been so held, though the time of year has been changed.¹

The project for a General Meeting, a clear forecast of the Five Years' Meeting of two hundred years later, did not find much favor, no doubt largely owing to the great distances and the consequent expenditure of time and money which attendance would involve. Maryland Friends, however, did send representatives, but it does not appear that they were more than what are now called "Fraternal Delegates," for a careful search through the records of several years failed to show that they were appointed on any committees or took any active part in the business. Virginia and North Carolina Yearly Meetings also sometimes sent delegates to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting similar to those from Maryland (now Baltimore).²

Maryland Yearly Meeting began with a Meeting at West River, on the western shore of the Chesapeake, in 1672,³ at which were George Fox and John Burnyeat.⁴ The meeting at first held Half-Yearly sessions alternately at West River and at Tredhaven (Third Haven), on the eastern shore, afterwards annual sessions alternately. It has been held without intermission ever since.

As has been seen, Maryland Friends sent "fraternal delegates" to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, though Maryland Yearly Meeting, as the records show, was absolutely independent in its actions. Doubtless the relationship resembled that between London and Dublin Yearly Meetings. Owing to various causes the Friends in Maryland felt the need of additional strength, and in 1787, possibly informally before, instructed their delegates to Philadelphia to broach the subject of a transfer of some meetings from Philadelphia to Maryland Yearly Meeting, and also mentioned the subject in their Epistle subjoining a copy of a Minute on the subject. They proposed for the consideration of Friends "the propriety of annexing to Maryland Yearly Meeting

1 In 1798 the time of holding the Yearly Meeting was changed to the third Second-day in the Fourth Month as at present.

2 Ms. Minutes, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1780; in 1784 no representatives from "neighboring Yearly Meetings were reported."

3 Dublin Yearly Meeting was begun the same year, 1672.

4 Journal of George Fox, Bi-cent. ed. 2: 163.

the Meetings of Deer Creek and Pipe Creek."¹

The Yearly Meeting of Virginia in their Epistle of the same year (1787) proposed that Philadelphia Friends should transfer to Virginia Friends the Quarterly Meetings of Fairfax and Hopewell.²

Both these proposals claimed consideration and the following Minute was made:

"The proposal contained in the Epistle from the Yearly Meeting of Virginia of uniting the Quarterly Meetings of Fairfax and Hopewell to that Meeting, also the proposal of the Yearly Meeting of Maryland contained in the extracts from the Minutes of their Yearly Meeting accompanying their Epistle coming now under consideration after some weighty deliberation thereon, the following Friends are desired to take the proposals of said Meetings solidly under their more particular consideration in conjunction with the com.^{tee} appointed on the Epistles and report the same to this Meeting." (9 mo. 26, 1787.)

Thirty-one Friends were appointed and two days later (9 mo. 28, 1787), brought in a written report, which, after stating that the whole matter, including the "circumstances of our Brethren who constitute the Yearly Meeting for North and South Carolina and Georgia," had "excited their close attention and sympathy," recommends, that as it is "a business which requires very weighty and deliberate consideration to digest with that united concurrence which its interesting nature and importance makes necessary," action should be deferred until the next year. Information of this disposition of the subject was given in the Epistles to Maryland and Virginia.

At the next Maryland Yearly Meeting "held at Third Haven 7th of the 6th Month, 1788," the communication from Philadelphia was read, and twenty-three Friends were appointed to attend the next Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia and have the matter in charge.

At the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of 1788 the matter came up as unfinished business, and a new committee of twenty-nine Friends was appointed "to unite with the Com.^{tee} on the Epistles

¹Both these meetings were in the State of Maryland.

²Both these meetings were in the State of Virginia.

on this service." (9 mo. 30, 1788.) The Minute goes on to say: "The representatives of Warrington and Fairfax Quarters are desired to attend with this Com^{tee}, likewise the Friends from Maryland." Three days later (10 mo. 2, 1788) this large committee made a long written report of which the following extracts cover all essential features. After reciting at length the history of the matter as already given, and stating the composition of the committee, the report continues:

"Our minds being impressed with a sense of the weight of the business referred to us; we have been favored in our conferences hereon with much harmony and concord keeping primarily in view the promotion of the Cause of Truth and the essential benefit of the Church, and after a free communication of sentiments unitely agree in judgment to propose,—

That the two Quarterly Meetings of Warrington & Fairfax, together with the Monthly Meeting of Deer Creek may be annexed to the Yearly Meeting of Maryland, the said Monthly Meeting of Deer Creek to become a part of the Western Quarterly Meeting in that Gov't; & that the Monthly Meeting of Duck Creek and Mother Kill¹ in the Delaware Gov't be united to the Quarterly Meeting on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, & the said Quarterly Meeting to become a branch of our Yearly Meeting of Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

And the state of the Yearly Meeting in Virginia being brought into our view with the same brotherly sympathy & concern, which attended our deliberations on the subject last year, as also the circumstance of our brethren in North Carolina. . . . We judge it may not be improper to submit to the deliberate attention of those Yearly Meetings, whether it may not conduce to their real advantage, and their greater ease and convenience; that the Quarterly Meeting in the Eastern part of North Carolina should not be united to the Yearly Meeting in Virginia, & constitute a part thereof; and that the two Quarterly Meetings in

¹The original name was "Murder Kill," so named from a bloody battle with the Indians having occurred there. "Kill" or "Kil" being the Dutch for stream. The Friends, not liking the name, changed it to "Mother Kill," sometimes spelled "Mother Kiln." Both forms are found in the extracts here given. See Michener, "Retrospect of Early Quakerism," pp. 113-115, Philadelphia, 1860.

the western part of North Carolina, with such additional Quarterly Meetings that may in future be established there or in South Carolina and Georgia, may constitute the Yearly Meeting for North Carolina and South Carolina and Georgia.”¹

This report was signed on behalf of the committee both by Philadelphia and Maryland Friends. It was “read and deliberately attended to,” and “with much unanimity concurred with and copies.....directed to be communicated to the Meetings concerned.” Eleven Friends, headed by James Pemberton and William Savery, were appointed to visit Warrington and Fairfax Quarterly Meetings and the Yearly Meeting of Maryland.

This committee reported the next year (9 mo. 30, 1789,) that, “Thirteen of us, men and women,² attended at the Quarterly Meetings of Fairfax and Warrington when the subject was spread before Men and Women Friends jointly.” These meetings concurred in the judgment of the Yearly Meeting. “Sixteen of our number [men and women],” the report continues, “attended the Yearly Meeting of Maryland, where the subject also was opened & spread before Men and Women separately & afterwards by a large committee of both was again jointly taken into further consideration & a solid weight prevailing it was with much unanimity resulted and adopted by them, whose report at the next sitting of said Meeting was by many concurring statements with much harmony united with, and a large committee of men and women Friends were appointed to attend our Yearly Meeting to unite in the further necessary considerations on the proposition in order to finally settle the matter.” This report was “Signed at Baltimore Town the 12th of 6th mo. 1789” by nine men and seven women.

¹ North Carolina Friends, not unnaturally, did not take the advice offered, though in the light of subsequent events no doubt it would have been to the advantage both of the Eastern Quarterly Meeting and Virginia Yearly Meeting. For geographical reasons alone, it was desirable, the Eastern Carolina Meetings being about 250 miles from the central part of the Yearly Meeting, while the distance to the nearest Virginia Meeting was only about 30 miles.

² Though nothing is said in the Minutes of the Yearly Meeting (Men), it is clear from this that the subject was considered by the Women Friends as well.

The Minute of Maryland Yearly Meeting (6th mo. 8th to 6th mo. 12th, 1789) is almost a counterpart of the report; it reads in part,

“A copy of a minute from our Brethren at their Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia respecting the subject referred to them of the arrangement of some of the meetings that belong to our Yearly [Meeting], was received and read accompanied by a Committee especially appointed by that Yearly Meeting, on the occasion. By which it appears that they have in Conjunction with the friends appointed at our last Yearly Meeting, unitedly agreed to propose for our consideration and adoption, [Then follows the proposal as given above.] Which important subject being taken into consideration at this time and the sentiment of many friends expressed thereto, it is with a good degree of Unanimity concluded to refer the same to the solid consideration of the following friends, in company with Women friends and the Committee appointed by the Yearly Meeting held at Philadelphia on the occasion and the friends who may be present from the two Quarterly Meetings of Warrington and Fairfax, the Monthly Meetings of Deer Creek, Duck Creek, and Mother Kill with others who may feel an engagement are requested to attend and report. . . to a future sitting of this meeting [28 Friends].”

This committee made a report approving of the plan, and continuing:

“And we further agree to propose that if next Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia should be so far satisfied as to Direct the Division to take place early after the close thereof, That our Eastern Shore Quarterly Meeting shall after that time report of the state of their meeting to the Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia for Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

This report was read twice and “deliberately considered” and “with a good degree of Unanimity concurred with and agreed to” by the meeting, and a committee of twenty-four appointed to attend the next Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia with a copy of the report.

At the Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia, 1789, nineteen of the Maryland Friends were present.

The report of the committee (9th mo. 30, 1789,) "was deliberately considered and also the Minutes of the Yearly Meeting of Maryland respecting the subject & a solid calm attending which ministers hope that the proposed arrangement will conduce to the honor of Truth and the benefit of our Religious Society." A committee of twenty-two men were appointed "to take into consideration such matters relative to the carrying the proposal into execution as may be necessary." The Friends from Maryland, the Representatives from Warrington and Fairfax and such Representatives from the Western Quarter who belonged to the meetings affected were desired to unite with the committee in their deliberations. The committee reported (10 mo. 3, 1789,) that after "solid attention and a free communication of sentiment," by the committee, those requested to meet with them, "and a large number of women Friends appointed to unite with us," it was concluded to recommend: "That the Quarterly Meetings of Warrington and Fairfax after this Yearly Meeting be considered as branches of the Yearly Meeting for Maryland, and the Monthly Meetings of Duck Creek, Mother Kill and Deer Creek, after receiving the Extracts from the Minutes of this Meeting through the Western Quarterly Meeting, the two former unite with the Quarterly Meeting on the Eastern Shore of Maryland and that Quarter henceforth to report to this Meeting agreeable to the Conclusion of the Yearly Meeting of Maryland, and the latter in like manner to unite with the Quarterly Meeting held in Baltimore Town and to become a branch thereof."

This report "was three times deliberately read" in the meeting and united with, and a committee of fifteen, headed by James Pemberton and Nicholas Waln, appointed to attend the next Yearly Meeting of Maryland "to offer them such assistance as Truth may enable." Five Friends were also appointed to attend the Quarterly Meeting on the Eastern Shore of Maryland when the two Monthly Meetings mentioned above should join.

No delegates from Maryland attended the Yearly Meeting of 1790, or after that date. A report was received from the Southern Quarter that the meetings of Duck Creek and Mother Kill had reported to it.

The committee appointed to attend the Yearly Meeting for

Maryland in Sixth Month, 1790 reported that ten of their number attended "and it appeared evident that the addition to that Meeting was made in best wisdom."

The Minutes of Maryland Yearly Meeting form a counterpart to the above, the Minute of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting being reported verbatim. The new arrangement, however, called for some changes. The matter was referred to a committee, whose report was accepted. The time of holding the Yearly Meeting was changed from the Sixth to the Tenth Month, and the style of the Yearly Meeting was altered from the "Yearly Meeting for Maryland" to "Our Yearly Meeting held at Baltimore, for the Western Shore of Maryland and the adjacent parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia." The meeting was henceforth called Baltimore Yearly Meeting and its sessions have always been held in the city of Baltimore.

There can be no doubt that the Friends of Philadelphia acted in a broad-minded manner and for the best interest of the Society. They must, however, have been greatly influenced by physical conditions. Distances were great, travel was largely on horseback and roads were bad. Baltimore was in every way more convenient for those who lived in Central and Southern Pennsylvania, and in Virginia. Warrington Quarterly Meeting was partly in Maryland, and State lines had considerable influence. It will be noticed that Maryland Friends had only asked for meetings in Maryland. Again, it was easier for Friends on the Eastern Shore of Maryland and in Delaware to go to Philadelphia, and Philadelphia already had meetings in Delaware. Philadelphia gave far more than she got, for the meetings she gave were in the line of western emigration and were growing, while the meetings on the Eastern Shore were in distinctly slave territory and were dwindling.

The writer has so far been unable to find any statement as to geographical boundaries; so far as known, there have been none officially laid down.¹

¹It has been held by some that Baltimore Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) was bounded by the Susquehanna river and its west branch; but no official confirmation of this claim has been found. The history of the Meeting and official records show that this was not the case even in the early days, for meetings in Cecil County, Maryland, belonged to Maryland Yearly Meeting. Michener, "Retrospect of Early Quakerism," pp. 110, 111.

Still another transfer of meetings took place in 1819, when Philadelphia transferred two meetings to Baltimore Yearly Meeting, as the following Minute shows: "Fifth month 19, 1819, Agreeably to the conclusion of the last Yearly Meeting held in Baltimore, and also approved by the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia [Nottingham Quarterly Meeting is] composed of Nottingham, Little Britain, and Deer Creek Monthly Meetings, the two former heretofore belonging to Western Quarter, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and the latter a branch of Baltimore Quarterly Meeting. Said Quarter to become attached to Baltimore Yearly Meeting."¹ Nottingham Meeting, though in Maryland, was settled from Pennsylvania, which accounts for its belonging to Philadelphia.

Though this latter transfer took place in 1819, it had been considered earlier, as the following extract from the Minutes of Little Britain Monthly Meeting, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, shows: "Eleventh month 9, 1816. The committee on the subject of a new Quarterly Meeting inform they had conferred with a committee from Nottingham and Deer Creek Monthly Meetings and produced the following report in writing—viz.: At a meeting of the Conference held at West Nottingham Meeting House the 7th of the 7th month 1816, of a committee appointed by Nottingham, Little Britain and Deer Creek on the subject of a new Quarterly Meeting, after a free consideration of sentiments thereon, it is unitedly agreed to propose to each Monthly Meeting the establishment of a new Quarterly Meeting to be composed of the three Monthly Meetings to be held on the sixth day of the week following the third second day in the 2nd, 5th, 8th, and 11th months."

This was the last transfer made. The troubles of 1827-1828, and of 1845 and later, rendered any joint official action out of the question.²

¹Account of....Baltimore Yearly Meeting. Levi K. Brown, Philadelphia, 1875.

²Owing to the difference arising out of the Wilbur controversy, Nottingham Quarterly Meeting was laid down by Baltimore Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) in 1855 and Deer Creek Monthly Meeting restored to Baltimore Quarterly Meeting. The other members of the former Nottingham Quarterly Meeting later became a part of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

JOHN BOWETER, AND FRIENDS' MEETINGS IN AMERICA, 1677-1678.

The following list of meetings, places and Friends in America, 1677-1678, is taken from a little book entitled "Christian Epistles, Travels and Sufferings of John Boweter. . ." London, 1705.

John Boweter (or Bowater, so spelled in the preface to the volume named above, and also in Besse's "Sufferings") was a Friend of Bromsgrove, Worcestershire, England, a village half way between Birmingham and Worcester. Little seems to be recorded of him. He is mentioned three times by Besse as suffering for non-payment of tithes. His name does not occur in George Fox's Journal, though he must have known Fox well, for he furnished a brief testimony to Fox's Life and Character among others which are prefixed to Fox's "Doctrinal Works."*

He was born in 1629 or 1630 and died in 1704 or 1705. At what time he became "convinced" is not mentioned, so far as known, or when first, as the biographical "Preface" puts it, "he was concerned in a Publick Testimony in the Gospel-Ministry." "He was called to Travel beyond the Seas, into America, and several Parts thereof, in the year 1677, and 1678. . .visiting many Places and Meetings, which he had in those Remote Parts, for the spreading the Blessed Truth and Gospel of the Grace of God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ; . . .and God was pleased eminently to Preserve him in his Travels, by Sea and by Land, through divers Hardships, and Jeopardies unto his safe Return for England, his Native Countrey." In fact, he was safer in the wilds of America than at home, for the account goes on, "It appeared by the said John Bowater's own brief Relation, that he was more kindly used by the Poor Indians in America than by some pretended Christians here in England, after his return. The Indians entertained him in their Wigwams (the best of their Habitations or Lodgings) but these Christians in their Cold

*See p. 143.

Goals, under confinement as they did many others of his Brethren and Friends in those times." Not long after his arrival at home he was thrown into the "County Goal [gaol]" of Worcester, certainly as early as 1679, for one of his Epistles bears date, "Worcester County Goal the 25th of the 7th Month [9th month, new style] 1679" The cause of his committal was his refusal to pay the tithes demanded by "Thomas Willmate, Vicar of the Parish of Bromsgrove, in the County of Worcester." From Worcester he was transferred to the Fleet Prison in London some time in the year 1681. He was a prisoner for several years, and if the date is correctly printed must have been sent back to Worcester, or perhaps suffered a second imprisonment, for one Epistle is dated, "Worcester County Goal, the 24th of the 5th Month, 1687." He seems to have written little; the collected Epistles, his most considerable work, occupying but 54 pages, 16mo. His style is for that day unusually simple and to the point. A single extract from "Of Submission to Authority" will suffice. In view of his personal experience, it is particularly interesting, as it was probably written in prison. "There is active Obedience, and there is passive Obedience in outward things; and in that which is Just. Magistrates are actively to be obeyed, and *Tribute* and *Custom* to be payed to them for the outward Preservation of the Nation; and that we may live Peaceably under them and enjoy our just Rights, having them defended by them; but in Spiritual things, and things relating to the Worship of God, *God and Christ* must rule; if outward Rulers make Laws about Worship, not according to the Law of God, nor commanded by Christ Jesus, nor practiced by his Holy Apostles; we must rather bear the Penalty of such *Laws*, than disobey God or Christ; and patiently suffer, as the holy Men and Martyrs in all Ages, from righteous *Abel* to this Day, have done." (Epistles, etc., pp. 6, 7.)

A few sentences may be quoted from "The Preface," which is a tribute to his character issued by "Our 2d Days Morning Meeting" and signed by twelve Friends, among whom are George Whitehead, Thomas Lower, and William Robinson. It is dated, London, the 21st of the Third Month, 1705: "Tho' this our Deceased Brother, was but low and poor in this World,

as to External Enjoyment; yet he was rich in Faith, and in true Love: He was of an unblameable Innocent Life and Conversation; he preached well, both in Doctrine and Practice....He did not make Merchandize of the Word of God, or his Ministry; but being low in the World, he laboured with his Hands for an honest (though mean) Livelihood....The simplicity and plainness of his Ministry and following Epistles, do not bespeak School-Education, but great Sincerity, Faith, Resolution, Constancy, and true Love in our Lord Jesus Christ; and his not being furnished with Humane Learning, did not hinder him from being with Jesus."

In the following list the spelling of the original is followed. It will be found interesting to compare this list with "The Journals of Esther Palmer in America," 1704-1705, as published in the JOURNAL of the Friends' Historical Society, vol. 6, pp. 38, 63, 133ff.

"Here follows the NAMES of *Places* and *Friends* in *America*, where *John Boweter* was (for the most part) Received, and had Meetings and Service for the Lord, in the Gospel of Peace" [1677-1678].

| | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>New York</i> | <i>Robert Story.</i> |
| <i>Long Island</i> } | <i>John Tilton.</i> |
| <i>Gravesend</i> } | <i>General Meeting.</i> |
| <i>Flushing</i> | <i>Meeting House.</i> |
| <i>Oyster Bay</i> | <i>General Meeting.</i> |
| <i>Rhode Island</i> | <i>Meetings General.</i> |
| <i>New England</i> } | <i>Meetings.</i> |
| <i>Sandwich</i> } | <i>Widow Coleman.</i> |
| <i>Sittuate</i> | <i>Edward Wharton.</i> |
| <i>Boston</i> | <i>A Meeting.</i> |
| <i>Salem</i> | <i>Joseph Bosens.</i> |
| <i>Tauxbery</i> | <i>Josiah Houlands.</i> |
| <i>Mountinicock</i> | <i>Matthæw Pryor.</i> |
| <i>Flushing</i> | <i>John Bouns.</i> |
| <i>Westchester upon</i> } | <i>John Ferrie.</i> |
| <i>the Main</i> } | |

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>New-Jersey</i> } | <i>Meetings.</i> |
| <i>Shrewsbury</i> } | |
| <i>Burlington</i> | <i>Meeting.</i> |
| <i>Upland</i> } | <i>Robert Wade.</i> |
| <i>Marylandside</i> } | |
| <i>Salem in Jersey</i> | <i>Meeting.</i> |
| <i>Maryland, Delaware</i> | |
| <i>Town</i> | |
| <i>Choptanck</i> | { <i>William Berrie,</i> |
| | { <i>Walter Dickson.</i> |
| <i>Tuckahow</i> | { <i>Meeting-House, and</i> |
| | { <i>Betty Cove's.</i> |
| | <i>John Pitts,</i> |
| | <i>Ralph Fishborns.</i> |
| <i>Kent-Island</i> | <i>Sarah Thomas.</i> |
| <i>West-Shore</i> | <i>Richard Snoden.</i> |
| <i>West-River</i> } | <i>Meetings.</i> |
| <i>Rode-River</i> } | |
| <i>Herring-Creek</i> | <i>Meeting.</i> |
| <i>East-Shore</i> } | <i>Meeting,</i> |
| <i>Kent-Island</i> } | <i>Hoil Powell's.</i> |
| <i>Tuckahoe</i> } | <i>Betty Cove,</i> |
| | <i>William Berry.</i> |
| <i>Little Choptank</i> | <i>William Stevens.</i> |
| <i>Miles River</i> | <i>Bryan Amaliell.</i> |
| <i>West-River and Rudge</i> | <i>Thomas Taylor.</i> |
| <i>South-River</i> | <i>Thomas Linscoms.</i> |
| <i>Herring-Creek</i> | <i>Meetings.</i> |
| <i>The Clifts</i> | <i>John Garie.</i> |
| <i>Potuxon</i> | <i>Benjamin Lawrence.</i> |
| <i>King's Creek</i> | <i>Thomas Tayler.</i> |
| <i>James-River in Vir-</i> | |
| <i>ginia</i> | |
| <i>James River, at</i> | <i>Elizabeth Houtland, or</i> |
| <i>Chuckatuck</i> | <i>Outland.</i> |
| <i>Pagan-Creek</i> | <i>William Yarite.</i> |
| | <i>William Bodilie.</i> |

| | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>Southward</i> | <i>Edward Perkins.</i> |
| <i>Nansemum</i> | <i>Matthew Atkinson.</i> |
| <i>Accamack</i> | |
| <i>Pongaleg, by Accamack Shore</i> | |
| <i>Pocamock Bay</i> | |
| <i>Annamesia</i> | <i>Ambrose Dickson.</i> |
| <i>Mody-Creek in Accamack.</i> | } <i>George Johnson.</i> |
| <i>Savidge-Neck</i> | |
| <i>Nesswatakes</i> | <i>Robert Harris.</i> |
| <i>Ocahanack</i> | <i>George Brickhouse.</i> |
| <i>Mody-Creek</i> | <i>James Jackson.</i> |
| <i>Annamessiah</i> | <i>John Parsons.</i> |
| | <i>George Johnson, and</i> |
| | <i>George Willson.</i> |

NOTE.—Taken from: *Christian Epistles Travels and Sufferings of That Antient Servant of Christ, John Boweter; Who departed this Life, the 16th of the 11th Month, 1704. Aged about 75 Years....London, Printed and Sold, by T. Sowle, in White-Hart Court in Gracious-Street, 1705. pp. 55-57.*

OUTFITS OF TRAVELLING MINISTERS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

That Friends who were liberated for religious service in the early days of the Society were carefully looked after is abundantly evident from the Meeting records.¹ The practice, as all know, has been continued to the present time.²

While the principle and practice of forwarding missionary service have been preserved, the character of the outfits has somewhat changed as the following papers³ will show.

¹See Bowden, *History of Friends in America*, vol. 1, pp. 58, 59; "Epistles," etc. *Historical Introduction*, vol. 1, p. 9, London, 1858.

²A conspicuous example is the amount contributed towards the expenses of our late Friend Isaac Sharp in his extended visits to the Orient, Australasia, Greenland and elsewhere.

³The accounts are taken from the papers given to the Friends' Historical Society by Joseph H. Coates. See *BULLETIN*, Sixth Month, 1909, p. 103.

The first account relates to the well-known Friend John Griffith, of England, whose "Journal" contains so much of interest regarding both English and American Friends of the Eighteenth Century. The paper is undated, but it undoubtedly refers to his homeward voyage in 1766. He states in his "Journal," "I then embarked [at Chester, Pennsylvania] on board the ship Phebe, Capt. Mungo Davison; we got under sail about two o'clock the next morning, and on first-day, the 16th of the 11th month [1766] about four o'clock in the afternoon we got to sea." It was a very "stormy and rough" voyage, the vessel leaking so badly that they "were obliged to keep one hand at the pump night and day all the passage.... On the twenty-fifth day of the 12th month, in the evening, we put into the safe port of Dartmouth. I then resolved to leave the ship."¹ It was well he did so for the vessel beat about the Channel for seven weeks longer before reaching its destination, London.

"John Reynell Treasurer to Yearly Meeting Stock To John Pemberton Dr.

| | |
|--|---|
| For Sundrys purchased for Sea Stores of Our frd J. Griffith. | |
| 2 Shoats 25/. | 4 Bushels of Indian Corn 13/.....£1.18. |
| 4 Dozen of Beer & Bottles @ 9/..... | 1.16. |
| 12 Bottles Madeira Wine & Bottles @ 9/..... | 1. 3.3 |
| 6 Bottles Madeira Wine 1¼ Galls & bottles..... | .17.4 |
| A Case Cost 20/6 qt. [?] 2 Galls Spirits @ 6/ & 4¼ | |
| Galls. rum @ 4/..... | 2. 9.6 |
| A Cag Biscuit..... | 10. |

£8.14.1

Another account relates to a worthy Friend Thomas Gawthrop.

Thomas Gawthrop [or Gawthrop] of Preston Patrick, a hamlet, six or eight miles from Kendal, in Westmoreland, England, was born in 1709. His parents were Friends, but either one or both of them died when he was quite a boy and he was sent to Leeds as an apprentice. He seems to have had a hard situation, for before his time was up he left his master and enlisted in the army. He became much dissatisfied and after nearly

¹"Journal of John Griffith." Philadelphia, 1780, pp. 422, 424.

five years of service an officer took pity on him and offered to procure his discharge, provided he would return the money he had received on enlisting. This he finally agreed to, and when he had earned it by labor he paid it over and was discharged. He went to Skipton, Yorkshire, and then to Kendal. Meanwhile he had become an earnest convinced Friend. Not long after, he married a young woman, a Friend of Preston Patrick Meeting. He removed to that village and it remained his home for the rest of his life.

He was a most exemplary Friend and is said to have exerted much influence wherever he labored. He travelled widely in the ministry and visited America four times, in 1747, 1756, 1766 and 1775-76.²

It is said that on his third visit (1766) he was greatly exercised on account of the negro slaves, and labored much on their behalf. He died at Preston Patrick, 29th of Ninth Month, 1781, aged about 71, having been a Minister forty-seven years.³

Bill for "Sea Stores" of Thomas Gawthrop.

John Reynell Treasurer to the Yearly Meeting stock for Pennsylvania & New Jersey Dr.

1767

5 mo. 1st To Cost of Wine, Rum, Beer & Cyder for

| | |
|--|----------|
| Sea Store of Our frd Thos. Gawthrop..... | £4.16.2¾ |
| Cost of Sheep & a Shoat..... | 1.13.4 |
| Corn, Bran, & packing Hay..... | 10.8 |
| Biscuit | 6.8 |

£7.6.10¾

Another account for the same Friend reads:

Chester Decem^r 2, 1777

Rec'd of Mr. Tho^s. Gawthrop and George Napper the sum of

²He is recorded as visiting Newport (Rhode Island) Meeting in Fifth Month, 1747; Fifth Month, 1756; Sixth Month, 1766, and First Month, 1776. Ms. "Record of Public Friends Visiting Newport Meeting, 1656-1838," in Library of Haverford College. He is recorded also as visiting Nantucket Island, in 1747, 1756, 1766, 1775. "Early Settlers of Nantucket," Lydia S. Hinchman, 2nd ed., Appendix —, Philadelphia, 1901.

³"Piety Promoted," vol. 3, pp. 119-121. Philadelphia edition.

fortySeven pounds five shillings for a Passage to England
in the Eagle Packet pr me

Edmund Spence

Rec^d of Tho^s Gawthrop.....£31.10.....
& of George Napper..... 15.15.....
Corry

The dates of Thomas Gawthrop's visit to Nantucket in 1775, of his visit to Newport, First Month, 1776, and of this receipt 1777, indicate that he must have been in America nearly two years at this time.

Still another account relates to William Hunt, of North Carolina. He was the father of Nathan Hunt,⁴ the patriarch of North Carolina Yearly Meeting. He was a remarkable minister who travelled widely in America. His companion on several journeys, including that to Europe, was his nephew, Thomas Thornburgh (pronounced Thornburrow), himself a minister.⁵

William Hunt began speaking at an early age, for he was not thirty-nine when he died. On this European journey he visited England, Ireland and Holland. On his way back to England the vessel in which he sailed was driven northwards and put in at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Soon after he landed he was taken ill with smallpox and died Ninth Month 9th, 1772. A few weeks later, his cousin, the well-known John Woolman, died at York of the same dreadful disease.

The ship in which he and his companion sailed was the "Mary and Elizabeth," Captain James Sparks. They took ship at Chester, Pennsylvania, as seems to have been customary, and put to sea Fifth Month 4th, 1771. They had a remarkably quick voyage, for they landed in London in twenty-seven days.⁶

⁴See Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, "Nathan Hunt and His Times." BULLETIN, Eleventh Month, 1907, pp. 92 ff., also supra pp. 116 ff. and for Hunt the same paper, pp. 98-100, and Memoirs of William and Nathan Hunt, Philadelphia, 1858.

⁵According to the Records of visiting Friends at Newport, R. I., and at Nantucket, William Hunt visited Newport, Tenth Month, 1767; Second Month, 1768, and First Month, 1771, each time, except the first, accompanied by Thomas Thornburgh. He visited Nantucket three times in 1767 and in 1771; on all these visits except the first he was accompanied by Thomas Thornburg.

⁶Memoirs as above, pp. 74, 75.

The reason why there should have been nothing stronger than "Syder" in their outfit may possibly be explained by the simpler life to which William Hunt must have been accustomed in comparison with the English Friends.

| | | |
|-------------------------|---|------------|
| | Yearly Meeting Stock To Charles West Dr. | |
| 1771 | For Sundry Stores for W ^m Hunt & Comp ⁿ . | |
| 5 mo. 1 st . | To 3 Sheep @ 20/..... | £3. 0. 0 |
| | To 3 Hogs | 3. 19. 8 |
| | To One Barrel Syder & Casks..... | 1. 7. 6 |
| | To 8 Salpetre Gam ^s 103 ^{lbs} @ 7½..... | 3. 4. 4½ |
| | To One Bundle Hay 2 ^c . 3. 14 & packing.. | 1. 1. 10 |
| | To Cash paid Porterage..... | 1. 0 |
| | | <hr/> |
| | | £12. 14. 4 |

NANTUCKET FRIENDS IN 1799 AND 1809.

[The two following brief papers give descriptions of the Friends on the Island of Nantucket as seen by two Ministers who made religious visits to the island at an interval of ten years. Extracts from the manuscript unpublished letters and Journal of Dr. Rowland Greene, of Rhode Island (1770-1859), have already been given in THE BULLETIN (vol. 2, pp. 119, 121). There was probably little change in numbers or conditions during the interval of the visits. The larger numbers reported as attending the meetings of Richard Mott were probably due to his being the greater stranger, Rowland Greene being well-known to many on the island, and to the fact that Richard Mott must have been by far the abler speaker.—EDITOR.]

The following letter is valuable as showing the activity of Friends on the island of Nantucket at the close of the Eighteenth Century.

Richard Mott, of New York, was born in 1767, married Abigail Field in 1787, and in the same year, at the age of twenty, made his first public appearance in the ministry. He was "recommended" in 1794, and lived until 1856, dying in his ninetieth year.

In 1799, at the age of thirty-two, he was released by his Monthly Meeting of Purchase, N. Y., to visit in the limits of

Rhode Island [New England] Yearly Meeting. He was joined by his life-long friend, William Rotch, of New Bedford, Mass., and they accompanied Rebecca Jones and two other women Friends to Nantucket Quarterly Meeting in the summer of that year. This letter to his wife is the earliest that has been preserved of a correspondence covering a period of fifty-one of their sixty-four years of married life. AMELIA MOTT GUMMERE.

NANTUCKET IN 1799.

Richard Mott.

Nantucket, 7th. Month 6th. 1799.

My most Endear'd Abby:

One Month now expires since the Trying separation from thee and the dear Babes; a separation almost too trying for my nature.—I wrote thee from [New] Bedford 6 Month 29th., giving a particular account thus far. The afternoon of that day, attended a Meeting appointed for us at Fairhaven, a little town opposite [New] Bedford. This meeting was concluded to be held in a new, unfurnished dwelling house. We accordingly sat down, but there being likely to be a want of room to accommodate the people, the Presbyterian Minister, a goodly looking young man, Respectfully invited us to withdraw to their meeting house, and there being an entire freedom on our part so to do, we comply'd, retir'd to it and sat down. A pretty large company attended, which behav'd solid and well. The Gospel of Peace was declar'd unto them, with which they seem'd well satisfied, and some of them very solid. The Minister was much so, telling Wm. Rotch after meeting that he would be at any time glad for Friends to have meetings with them, and that he thought that he should study his sermons no more.

7th. day, Reach'd Nantucket after a good passage of 9 hours; attended meeting at the Northern District in the Morning, and at the South Meeting house, afternoon. 2nd. day, Select Quarterly Meeting; 3rd. day, Quarterly Meeting, 4th. day, weekday meeting, North District; 5th. day, that for the Southern, and in the afternoon a meeting appointed for us, Compos'd principally of young people, a very large number of this Class gave us their company, some Friends say, 1500. This

prov'd a Relieving, solid Opportunity, the language of persuasion and heartfelt encouragement flow'd plentifully to them. Many minds were tenderly affected, and the Meeting ended sweetly. Thus have we renewed Cause to trust in the Lord to thank Him and take courage, for surely at times He is strength in Weakness to us, and has mercifully favor'd us while on this Island with divers precious, heart-tendering meetings, and a number of such opportunities in families, having devoted most of our Leisure time in visiting the Sick, the Youth or others in this way. Yesterday had no meeting. Visited several families, one of those not members; a signal opportunity of favour it prov'd to them. 7th. day morning, the 6th. of the Month is now come; we yesterday expected that this morning would give us a Clearance from this Sandy Island, but dear Wm. Rotch, Jr., who is affectionately our Company since we left [New] Bedford, tells us the South wind does not blow, and of course (there is) no way to leave at present, and this according pretty well with the wind of our own feelings, we have concluded to be content a little longer. Rebecca Jones tells us not to be too anxious, for when the Right time comes, the South Wind will blow!—Thus far wrote this morning I add this evening that this day has been spent in visiting some Friends' families.

1st. day Evening, 7 Month, 7th.

We have this day attended three meetings; Morning and Afternoon meetings in course at the Northern District, and a meeting appointed for dear Ruth Anna, Sally and myself at 6 o'clock in the evening, intended principally for those not of our society. This was a very large crowded meeting; it was thought that not less than 2000 were in the house, and a large number could not [get in]. The weather was very hot and the house exceedingly crowded, considering which, the people behav'd solid and well; the Gospel was extensively preached to them, and the meeting ended solidly, and I believe well; thus have we come once more to say with thankfulness, "hitherto hath the Lord helped us." It is now 11 o'clock at night, We hope that the Morning will give us a discharge from this land.

2nd. day evening, 8th. of the Month.—The wind not being

favourable to take us to [New] Bedford this day, we have visited some of our friends as usual expecting to leave this Island at 6 o'clock in the Morning, and having just found there was likely to be an opportunity from this place to New York, and it being very late in the evening, I have no time to do more than desire my love to my friends....We have been exceedingly kindly cared for at the house of dear James Barker, who, with his dear wife, have very tenderly done for us, and have just retir'd to our chamber after a solemn affecting opportunity with a number of Friends who came to take leave of us....*

I am thy ever true and faithfull

Rich^d. Mott.

NANTUCKET IN 1809.

ROWLAND GREENE.

In the forepart of the 9th Month 1809 left home in company with my kind friend John Green to visit the families of Friends at Nantucket. Embarked at Providence in a Nantucket Packet—touched at Newport where we arrived at 5 in the afternoon, a smooth and slow passage. Staid the night, lodged at Thomas Robinson's, and left Newport about 10 next morning in company with about 20 passengers, men, women and children. The Wind was fair, and fresh, which drove us at the rate of 10 miles an hour, and the seas running high produced seasickness with many, among whom I was a sufferer, but keeping still in Bed it was not excessive. We arrived about 12 at night. Called on John Greene Jr. whose wife rose and gave us a dish of tea....9th Mo. 23, 1809. I am now at Abisha Bunker's which has been my home since the 20th. [I have been] visiting Nineteen families per day. In company with Jethro Mitchell....have visited all the families of the other Monthly Meeting to satisfaction....Since coming into this Monthly Meeting have visited fifty seven families....First day,...After the meeting I went home with Peleg Mitchell to dine, he told me

*According to the register of visiting ministers, Richard Mott visited Nantucket again in 1807, 1815, 1838 and 1840. Lydia S. Hinchman, "Early Settlers of Nantucket, 2nd ed., Philadelphia, 1901." Appendix.

he thought there was 800 people at meeting, which I suppose is not larger than usual in such good weather. More than half the number were females. Their plain appearance attracted my attention. I did not see a straw bonnet nor a bow upon a bonnet in the house. I thought if they were as careful to guard their hearts from evil, as they had been to make a plain and comely appearance, it would be happy for them. But many of their young men in this respect greatly err.... Third day morning. Yesterday we visited twenty families. "...I shall [now] leave the island the first opportunity. The path which seems marked out for me after leaving here, is to go to Martha's Vineyard, lying between this and New Bedford.... On Martha's Vineyard we put up with William Coffin—the only family of members on the Island."

JOHN BOWETER'S "TESTIMONY CONCERNING GEORGE FOX."

"John Bowater's TESTIMONY. A short Testimony for our Honourable Brother in the Faith, G.F. It is about Thirty Years since I first heard him; his Matter was sound and weighty. though not with enticing Words of Man's Wisdom, but in the demonstration of the Spirit and Power of God, opening many weighty Things; he travelled up and down in God's Power, to gather People from the Idol-Shepherds (that only feed themselves) to God, that People might know the true Shepherd and Bishop of the Soul, and his Voice in them; through many Trials the Lord upheld him, and delivered out of many Prisons him he was cast into; he travelled into many Countries and Islands beyond the Seas, into some of which I afterward travelled, and saw the Fruit of his Labours in many Places, where he had settled many Monthly, Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, that are of great Service in many Parts of the world, though some angry and unruly Spirits were offended, as some were against *Moses*; though there was not a Meeker Man upon the Earth, yet some

said that he took too much upon him, as some have, concerning this faithful Servant of Christ, whose labour and Care was all along to promote Truth; since God first sent him forth to preach his Gospel, his Care was, to keep things Sweet, Clean, and Savoury in the Church of Christ, and that Care might be taken for the Poor, Fatherless and Widows; and not many Days before his Decease, to wit, the 5th of the 11th Month, 1690 [1st Month, 1691, New Style], about Eight Days before his Departure, at our 2^d Days Morning-Meeting, I much minded his Exhortation to us, encouraging Friends that have Gifts, to make use of them, mentioning many Countries beyond the Seas that wanted Visiting, instancing the Labours and hard Travels of Friends, in the beginning of the spreading of Truth in our Days, in breaking up of Countries, and of the rough plowing they had in Steeple-Houses, &c. but now it was more easie; and he complained of many *Demascs* and *Cains*, who imbrace the present World, and incumber themselves with their own Businesses, and neglect the Lord's, and so are good for nothing; and said, They that had Wives should be as tho' they had none; and who goeth a Warfare, should not entangle himself with the things of this World. The Lord took him away from the Evil to come, and delivered him out of the Hands of his Enemies, who hated him without a Cause."

One of twelve "Testimonies Concerning George Fox" prefixed to "*Gospel-Truth Demonstrated*, in a Collection of Doctrinal Books, Given forth by that faithful Minister of Jesus Christ, George Fox," etc. London, 1706. Folio pages, 14, 1090, vi.

BOOKS OF INTEREST TO FRIENDS ISSUED IN 1909.

Witchcraft and Quakerism, by Amelia Mott Gummere, Philadelphia. The Biddle Press, 1908, Illustrated, 69 pp. \$1.00.

An Index to the Extracts from the Minutes and Proceedings of London Yearly Meeting for the first Fifty Years of Issue, 1857-1906, together with a Historic Survey of the Half Century. Headley Brothers, London, 1909. 2s. 6d.

[The Index is the work of Norman Penney, and the Historical Survey of Isaac Sharp.]

George Fox—*Aufzeichnungen und Briefe des ersten Quäkers*. [Selections from the Journal translated into German by Fraülein Margaret Stähelen of Basel, with an Introduction by Professor Dr. Paul Wernle.] Tübingen, Mohr, 1909.

John Russell Hayes—"Old Meeting Houses [a collection of verses original and selected] with over fifty illustrations." Philadelphia: The Biddle Press, 1909. \$1.00.

William C. Braithwaite, B.A., LL.B.—"*Swarthmore Lecture. Spiritual Guidance in the Experience of the Society of Friends.*" Published for the Woodbrooke Extension Committee by Headley Brothers, London, 1909. 109 pp.

Joseph Bevan Braithwaite, a Friend of the Nineteenth Century. By his Children. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1909. 8vo., 404 pp., 19 illustrations, 7s. 6d. (For sale by New York Book & Tract Committee, 144 E. 25th St., New York City. \$2.66 postpaid.)

Rufus M. Jones—*Studies in Mystical Religion*. London and New York. Macmillan & Co., 1909. 518 pp. \$3.50.

... J. Rendel Harris—*Side Lights on New Testament Research*. London: James Clarke, 1909. 243 pp. 6s.

J. Rendel Harris—*Odes and Psalms of Solomon* now first Published from the Syriac Version. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1909. 8vo., 154 pp. and 54 pp. Syriac Text. Also issued in a popular form, *An Early Christian Psalter*, 2s. 6d. (N. Y. Book & Tract Com., \$1.00.)

Quaker Biographies—A Series of Sketches, chiefly Biographical, concerning Members of the Society of Friends, from the Seventeenth Century to more Recent Times, with Illustrations. Vol. I: 227 pp. [21 illus.]; Vol. II: 233 pp. [22 illus.]; Vol. III: 224 pp. [21 illus.]. For sale at Friends' Book Store, 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia, 1909, 75 cents each.

"*Friends Ancient and Modern.*" Twelve brief Biographies issued separately at one penny each can now be had in one bound volume from Headley Brothers, London, or Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 East Twentieth Street, New York City. The series comprises George

Fox, Samuel Bowly, Elizabeth Fry, Stephen Grellet, Peter Bedford, Thomas Chalkley, Francis Howgill, Joseph Bevan Braithwaite, Daniel Wheeler, George Whitehead, Margaret Fell Fox and Joseph Sturge. The London Friends' Tract Association, which is responsible for these attractive little books, is to be congratulated on the success of the effort to present in modern style the salient points of the lives of eminent Friends.

Of the preceding list three books may be noticed as especially worthy of extended mention.

(1) "Joseph Bevan Braithwaite." This volume will undoubtedly remain one of the standard works relating to Quakerism of the Nineteenth Century. The subject of the biography belonged to what has been called "the old school of religious thought," and was a shining example of it. The truth had come to him along certain lines, and he could not see how it was possible that a *clear* vision of essentials could come in any other way. Nothing could shake his belief in arguments which had convinced him, and though with his large Christian charity he was tolerant, he always seemed to feel that others who differed from him on such points were in the twilight.

The growth of his religious character and influence is skilfully described and the man himself is well portrayed. Much light is thrown on the inner history of Friends in England during the century, and nowhere else is there a clearer setting forth of the causes of what is known as the "Beaconite Controversy," and of the currents and under-currents which accompanied that movement which brought so great injury and loss to the Society in England.

The marks of joint authorship are occasionally apparent, but the work is a highly creditable one. Joseph Bevan Braithwaite preserved all letters received by him, retained copies of all that he himself wrote, and in addition kept a full journal. When it is remembered that his active life extended over a period of about sixty years, the skill and good judgment with which this mass of material has been sifted to make a volume of 400 pages is apparent.

(2) *Studies in Mystical Religion*, by Rufus M. Jones.—There can be no doubt that this book, by far the most important work of the author, is one highly creditable to its author and to the denomination to which he belongs. It is rightly named "Studies," for while there is a fairly close connection between the various papers, there is no attempt to make a continuous history. The subject is one that can be handled with peculiar appropriateness by a Friend, and one which rightly should precede a history of Quakerism. It is a series of pictures of "first-hand experience" of the spiritual life from Apostolic times almost to the eighteenth century. It is by no means a popular book, and yet the author is surprisingly clear in his statements, and in his portrayal of the various "seekers after God"—to use Farrar's words—who have appeared in every Christian age. Naturally large space is given to the Anabaptists, Seekers, and, incidentally, to the Ranters, all of whom played so important a

part in the seventeenth century—the era of the early Friends. One fact is abundantly established—that neither the early Friends, nor any other body, can claim any exclusive right to spiritual communion with God or “first-hand experience” of Divine Guidance. Neither is it possible to claim exclusive originality in any one important doctrine. Holy men and women in all ages have been “moved by the Holy Spirit,” and have spoken and acted in accordance therewith on closely similar lines, wholly independent of others and unknowing that others felt and spoke and acted like themselves. Where originality can be claimed is usually in the combination of doctrines. Thoughtful students of Church History will gratefully welcome Dr. Jones’s book.

(3) *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, by J. Rendel Harris.—This work can claim no connection with Friends, except through its author; but Friends may take a just pride in the fact that so distinguished a Christian scholar should find his church home among them. Dr. Harris is to be congratulated again on finding a lost book of the early church—in some ways not so interesting, perhaps, as the “Apology of Aristides,” but of great value as throwing light upon the views and practice of the Christians of the first and second centuries.

The “Psalms of Solomon” have long been known, though not in a Syriac version, but the “Odes” have been lost until found in this Syriac version by Rendel Harris. The ms., he tells us, “has been lying on my shelves for some time, perhaps for as long as two years, along with a heap of leaves from various Syriac mss. written on paper which came from the neighborhood of the Tigris.” There are forty-two of these Odes. Some of these are very like the Psalms of the Bible. They date from the latter half of the first century or from the first half of the second.

It should be said that the only connection with Solomon is the title. It was customary to use his name in connection with almost any literature that dwelt upon ethical or religious wisdom.

THE QUAKER IN THE FORUM, by Amelia Mott Gummere, The John C. Winston Co., Philadelphia, 1910, pp. x. 327, \$1.50 net. This new book of Amelia Mott Gummere has come to hand, too late for a careful or extended notice. The work consists of a series of studies on the following subjects: The Oath, A Wanton Gospeller, The Quaker Franchise, The Quaker Citizen and the Law, The Quaker in International Politics, The Quakers and Mirabeau, and Quaker Loyalty. It will be seen that the well-equipped author has entered fields little more than touched by writers of Quaker history; perhaps unknown to most historians. In the volume noticed the topics named above will be found treated of with skill and interest. There are fourteen valuable illustrations. We commend the volume to our readers.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

COTTON MATHER AND WILLIAM PENN.—In the BULLETIN for Eleventh Month, 1907 (p. 89), was published a copy of the pseudo letter of Cotton Mather to William Penn. Reference was then made to articles by Howard M. Jenkins in refutation thereof, but it was stated that "a search in the files of the *Friends' Intelligencer* has failed to find the articles referred to." Recently one of the editors of the *Intelligencer* kindly furnished the editor of the BULLETIN with the data. The articles appeared in the *Friends' Intelligencer* Seventh Month 18, 1891, and Fourth Month 24, 1897. These papers quote from a letter written in 1891 by William F. Poole, the well-known originator of Poole's Indexes to Periodicals, Librarian at one time of the Boston Athenaeum, and afterwards of the Newberry Library, Chicago. The letter was written to Dr. W. A. MacAtee, of Madison, Wisconsin. W. F. Poole wrote: "I beg to say that I showed the Penna. letter to be a forgery twenty-one years ago in the Boston *Evening Transcript* of June 1, 1870, for it used words and expressions which did not come into use until one hundred years later, and its biographical and historical blunders were inexcusable, even in a forgery. Cotton Mather was only nineteen years old in

1682. . . I later secured a copy of the paper in which it first appeared,—the *Argus*—a newspaper printed in Easton, Pa., of the date of April 28, 1870, and I had a correspondence with the editor, Mr. James F. Shunk, in which he admitted that he invented the letter, and was rather proud of his *jeu d'esprit*, which had been so widely printed. This forgery has a cycle through the press of four years, and is now on its sixth circuit. Within six weeks I have heard of its being printed in a hundred different forms.

"W. F. POOLE."

As the letter may be looked for again in two or three years, it has seemed worth while to preserve in the pages of the BULLETIN the exact data.

FRIENDS' TRACTS.—Hannah M. Jenks has presented to Haverford College the collection of Friends' Tracts formed by her husband, the late William H. Jenks, of Philadelphia. The collection numbers about 1,400 items, nearly all of the seventeenth century. With comparatively few exceptions, each tract is handsomely bound in full or half morocco or calf. The collection also contains a fine copy of George Fox's "Battle-Door," folio 1660. The acquisition of these volumes places the collection of Friends'

Books in the Haverford Library probably next to that in Friends' Library, Philadelphia, which is surpassed only by that at Devonshire House, London.

The Haverford Library has, however, doubtless the largest collection in America of Friends' Periodicals and of "Printed Minutes" of the various Yearly Meetings.

HAVERFORD MEETING HOUSE.—This meeting house, built in 1700 and enlarged in 1800, and now belonging to Race Street Friends, was remodeled in the summer of 1909. The whole interior was torn out, all partitions being removed, new benches and ministers' gallery put in, the walls renovated, floor neatly carpeted and the windows furnished with shades. The exterior retains much of its ancient appearance, and the curious outside fireplaces have been preserved.

This old house has long been a landmark in the neighborhood. It is one of the few places of worship in America still remaining in which William Penn preached. From a strictly antiquarian point of view the changes are to be regretted, but the old arrangements were extremely uncomfortable, and the changes were needful to suit modern conditions. A "circular meeting" was held in the meeting house in Eleventh Month last, at which time the old house was filled, many of those present, though not members, were descendants of those who long ago belonged to the meeting.

SEMI-CENTENNIAL OF TWENTIETH STREET MEETING HOUSE, NEW YORK CITY.—New York Friends held a pleasant meeting on the evening of Twelfth Month 18, 1909, celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the meeting house in 1859.

WOMEN FRIENDS' CALL TO SERVICE.—The first thought for women Friends to have a share in the work of our Society, other than the ministry, did not seem to originate with George Fox, as is sometimes inferred, but came very naturally to those upon whom the care of its more temporal and beneficent interests devolved.

There was something pleasantly spontaneous in the plan and arrangements. Unsought and unsolicited, but with an evidence of divine approval, their privilege of service came.

In the very early days of Friends, there seemed to be in the city of London two exceedingly interesting religious centres or council chambers. One was in the house of Gerard Roberts, in the street called Thomas-Apostle's. Here the ministering Friends often met in solemn deliberation, and these gatherings being more ecclesiastical in character, were deferred to as the primary human authority for decisions on important issues and methods of procedure.

The other was "an upper room in an ancient great house near Aldersgate, in Martin's Le Grand, known as the Bull and Mouth meeting-house." Here between

the years 1655 and 1666 a few earnest-hearted, truly devoted men Friends to the number of eight or ten, sometimes a few more, "met to consider the affairs of Truth." After the great London fire in 1666, the place of meeting was changed to an upper room in the Devonshire House. Regarding one of these early meetings, the following "Testimony" was written by Gilbert Latey for the Women's Meeting in London. It read thus:—

"In early days, about three or four years after the settlement of the men's meeting which was in an upper room at the then Bull and Mouth Meeting-house near to Aldersgate London, where several of us were then present, viz: Gerrard Roberts, Amor Stodard, John Osgood, Richard Davis, and others, being about fifteen or more, all met about the concerns and care for the poor fatherless and widows among us, as it had been advised by our elder brethren, who then ministered among us, [we] found it was our places to look into the necessities of poor Friends, and supply their wants, and as we were thus met, a care came upon us how this should be carried on for we could truly say, the Lord's presence and power accompanied us, and was livingly felt among us, whereby our hearts were opened and we enlightened so as to see we wanted help-meets for carrying on the service, which seemed to be and was of great concern. Upon which it opened in our hearts plainly that the women

being added to us as help-meets, would answer the service which was so needful, for that we could no longer do without their help, care and assistance: we believing it would lie much upon them as their concern, being satisfied they were fitted for the work, and would be careful and vigilant therein. Upon all the meeting, as one man, feeling the love of God to be shed abroad among us, did in the openings of Life all agree, that two of the meeting should go to Gerrard Roberts' house to acquaint the ancient ministering Friends what had opened in our hearts, in relation to that service; there being then at Garrard Roberts's, George Fox, Francis Howgil, Edward Burroughs, Richard Hubberthorn, and it may be some more. And the matter being proposed to George Fox and the rest of the brethren, they very well approved, and fatherly consented we might be joined together in the work and service of the Lord among his children and people, and forthwith ordered that the names from all parts of the city and suburbs of the ancient women Friends should be taken, which being accordingly done, some from every quarter met, and they readily received the motion of Life in the love of God, as it opened among the brethren: and there was a heavenly union in our being thus joined together, and the Lord was with us and among us, and continued his good presence, both with them and us to this day.—"

The above was written when Gilbert Latcy was seventy-nine years old, and but three months before his death, and closes with this courteous little explanation:

"I was willing to give this account and testimony, to you the women Friends and all others, before I go hence, being now grown ancient, and not likely to continue but calling to mind the beginning and establishing of this meeting, which many now know little of, I was the more induced to leave these few lines before I go hence: who am your ancient friend and truly loving brother."

"Gilbert Latcy."

"Hammersmith, the 22d of the 6th mo. 1705."

(*Brief Narrative of the Life and Death of . . . Gilbert Latcy*, London, 1707, pp. 145-147.)

The above plan was probably developed in 1658 or 1659, as Richard Davies, who is mentioned as one of the Friends met in the upper room at the Bull and Mouth meeting house, came to London from Wales in 1658, and after his marriage in the early part of 1659, returned to Wales, not coming again to London until after the death of Edward Burrough, in 1662.

M. G. SWIFT.

Millbrook, N. Y., First Mo. 25th, 1910.

WALTER SCOTT'S QUAKERS FRIEND.—In an early chapter [Letter vii] of *Redgauntlet*, in connection with the description of Sharving Knowe (later called Mount Sharon) and its quaint Friendly inmates, Joshua and Rachel Ged-

des, is found in a foot-note by Scott, the following graceful tribute to an obliging Scotch Friend:

"I cannot help adding a note not very necessary for the reader, which I record with pleasure, from recollection of the kindness which it evinces. In early youth I resided for a considerable time in the vicinity of the beautiful village of Kelso, where my life passed in a very solitary manner.

I had few acquaintances, scarce any companions; and books, which were at the time almost essential to my happiness, were difficult to come by. It was then I was particularly indebted to the liberality and friendship of an old lady of the Society of Friends, eminent for her benevolence and charity.

Her deceased husband had been a medical man of eminence, and left her, with other valuable property, a small and well-selected library. This the kind old lady permitted me to rummage at pleasure, and carry home what volumes I chose, on condition that I should take, at the same time, some of the tracts printed for encouraging and extending the doctrines of her own sect. She did not even exact any promise that I would read these performances, being too justly afraid of involving me in a breach of promise, but was merely desirous that I should have the chance of instruction within my reach, in case whim, curiosity, or accident, might induce me to have recourse to it."

It would be interesting to know more of this Friend.

M. G. S.

In regard to the above inquiry, the following extract from Lockhart's *Life of Scott* will throw some light:

"Another of his Kelso school-fellows was Robert Waldie (son of Mr. Waldie of Henderside), and to this connexion he owed, both while quartered in the Garden, and afterwards at Rosebank, many kind attentions, of which he ever preserved a grateful recollection, and which have left strong traces on every page of his works in which he has occasion to introduce the Society of Friends. This young companion's mother, though always called in the neighborhood "Lady Waldie," belonged to that community; and the style of life and manners depicted in the household of Joshua Geddes of Mount Sharon and his amiable sister, in some of the sweetest chapters of *Redgauntlet*, is a slightly decorated edition of what he witnessed under her hospitable roof." Lockhart goes on and quotes from the note given above by our correspondent. See Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, vol. 1, chap. iii, pp. 146, 147, Boston, 1861.—[EDITOR.]

GEORGE FOX ON FIXED PRICES.—

"And again you Tradesmen, Merchantmen of all sorts whatsoever, Buyers and Sellers, set no more upon the thing you sell or exchange, than what you will have; is it not better and more ease to have done at a Word, than to ask double or more? Doth not this bring you into many vain Words, and Complements, and talk, that fills the vain Mind? This is de-

ceitful before God and Man. And is it not more savoury to ask no more than you will have for your Commodity, and keep to Yea and Nay in your Communication, when you converse in your Calling, than to ask more than you will take? and so is there not the many Words where's the multiplying of Sins? This is the Word of the Lord to you, Ask no more than you will have for your Commodity, and keep to Yea and Nay in your Communication, and here will be an equal Ballancing of things, and a Consideration before you utter Words, and a using of this World, as though you used it not; and a possessing as though you possessed not; and so you will come to show a Life like Christians, and the Spirit like Christians, and you a People in Christ's Doctrine, that love his Doctrine, which keep to Yea and Nay in your Communication, and you will not be a People that be High and Proud, and Lofty, so a Child shall trade with you as a Man, because of the Equity, and Yea and Nay, and Righteousness and true Weighing of things and true Consideration of things, and People shall not be afraid of one cheating the other, or destroying the other, Where Truth and Equity is among them, and Mercy and Righteousness, and no more is set upon the thing than what they will take, who are in their Yea and Nay in their Communication; here is the Consideration before Words be uttered, and where the power is over the Tongue, the Life of a Christian is seen." George Fox:

"A Cry for Repentance, unto the Inhabitants of London chiefly," etc., 1656: as reprinted in "Doctrinal Works," London, 1706, pages 73-76. Folio.

THE JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY, ELEVENTH MONTH, 1909.—This number has several papers of considerable interest. That on the "Descendants of Mary Fisher," by George Vaux, probably tells all that is at present known on the subject. Those familiar with genealogical research will appreciate the labor bestowed on the paper. The letter of William Ellis, "Pioneers in Pennsylvania," 1685, makes the reader wish the writer had written more fully. The letter entitled "William Penn's Defence of His Wig," is reproduced below. As usual, the section, "Friends in Current Literature," contains much interesting information. The generally most accurate Editor himself makes a slip when he says (page 180) that the Princess Elizabeth referred to was the *daughter* of James I.; she was the *granddaughter*; it was her *mother*, the Princess Elizabeth, Electress Palatine, and then Queen of Bohemia, who was the daughter of James I., and sister of Charles I.

WILLIAM PENN'S DEFENCE OF HIS WIG.*

London ye 25th of ye 3rd moth,
1677.

Dr Friend**

To whom is my love & all the rest of Friends in ye Truth of god, & my desire is, that thou & all

the rest may be preserved in gods peacable Truth & in ye love of it.

Now Concerning the thing thou speakst to me of, that Sarah Harris should say to the that W^m Mead & W^m Penn did ware Perrywiggs & Call them Periwig men; first concerning W^m Mead, he bid me putt my hand vpon his head, & feel, & said he never weare Perriwig in his life, & wonder'd at it; & as for W^m Penn he did say that he did ware a little civil border because his hair was Come of his head, & since J have seen & spoak wth W^m Penn, his border is so thin, plain and short, y^t one Cannot well know it from his own hair. W. Penn when but 3 years ould so lost his hair by ye small Pox y^t he woar them then, long & about 6 years before his Convincent, he woar one, & after y^t he endeavord to goe in his own hair, but when kept a close Prisoner in ye Towr next the leade, 9 monthe, & no bar ber suffer'd to come at him, his hair shed away; & since he has worn a very short civil thing, & he has been in danger of his life after violent heats in meetings & rideing after y^m, & he wares them to keep his head & ears warm & not for pride; w^{ch} is manifest in that his perriwigs Cost him many Pounds apiece, formerly when of ye world, & now his Border, but a five shillings; & he has lay'd of more for Truth then her & her Relations and J am sorry the should speak such things, & the did not do well to discours of such things, I desire the may be wiser for the time to come.

And so wth my love to thee & thy wife & father & N. Newton.

G. ff

And hees more willing to fling it off if a little hair come, than ever he was to putt it on.

*This letter is taken from a MS. in Devonshire House, in the handwriting of William Penn. Reprinted from THE JOURNAL of the Friends' Historical Society (London), Eleventh Month, 1909, p. 187.

**Henry Sidon, of Baddesley, Warwickshire. See the Journal of George Fox. (Bi-cent. ed. 2: 259.)

GOAL, GAOL, JAIL.—Those familiar with the early editions of Friends' books will have often noticed the word "goal" meaning prison. The following extracts from the great Murray "Oxford English Dictionary" will throw some light on this archaic word. They will be found under the word JAIL.

"JAIL, GAOL.—Middle English had two types....the Norman French and the Parisian FrenchOf the two types, the Norman French and the Middle English *gaiole*, *gaole*, came down to the 17th century as *gaile*, and still remains as a written form in the archaic spelling *gaol*;....but this is obsolete in the spoken language, where the surviving word is *jail*, representing the Old Parisian French and Middle English *jaiole*, *jaile*. Hence though both forms *gaol*, *jail*, are still written, only the latter is spoken....It is difficult to say whether the form *goal* (*gaole*) common alike in official

and general use, from the 16th to the 18th century, was merely an erroneous spelling of *gaol*, after this itself had become an archaism, or was phonetic." It may be added that according to Wright's English Dialect Dictionary, *goal* is pronounced *gole*, g being hard as in go.

THE PROFESSION OF FAITH REQUIRED IN THE PENNSYLVANIA ASSEMBLY, 1706.—In reply to the inquiry on this point (see Bulletin vol. 2, page 30) it may be said that the history of the imposition of the test required of the members of the Assembly is somewhat obscure. The fullest account known to the writer will be found in the Pennsylvania Magazine for History and Biography, vol. 9: 365-406. "Religious Tests in Provincial Pennsylvania," by Charles J. Stillé. The first test was established during Penn's absence from Pennsylvania, and during the time of Colonel Quarry. In 1705 the Assembly passed an Act to "ascertain the number of members of Assembly and to regulate elections." It is in this act that the religious test inquired after by our correspondent is to be found. The wording of the test is taken from the Act of Toleration passed May 24, 1689, under William and Mary as amended at the instance of George Whitehead and other Friends*.

A. C. T.

*See Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the English Church*, London, 1896, p. 661; *the Christian Progress of George Whitehead*, London, 1725, pp. 633-636.

ANNUAL MEETING, 1910.

The Sixth Annual Meeting of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia was held on the afternoon and evening of the 29th of First Month, 1910, at 20 S. Twelfth Street, Philadelphia. A pleasant feature of the occasion was an exhibit of a variety of articles of historical interest, loaned by members and their friends.

The beautiful new rooms of the Friends' Institute were opened to the Society, and in one of these the loan exhibit was displayed, mostly in glass cases, where all could be seen readily.

A storm of rain and snow prevented some from attendance, but over one hundred interested people appeared to enjoy the social occasion afforded by the exhibit.

Samuel S. Thompson presided over an informal meeting, when Lucy B. Roberts, Joshua L. Baily, George Vaux, James Emlen, William Evans and others told something of the history of a number of the exhibits.

Later, while a refreshing tea was attractively served in the pleasant Tea Room of the Meeting House, Joshua L. Baily told something of the history of the room, and the large hewn timbers which support its roof, and which are thought to have been used in the structure of an earlier meeting house.

In the absence of the President and Vice-Presidents, Joshua L. Baily presided at the business meeting, held in the evening in the Committee Room of the Meeting House, when the annual reports were read.

The address of the meeting: "Quakers in Politics in Early Rhode Island," was ably presented by Rufus M. Jones.

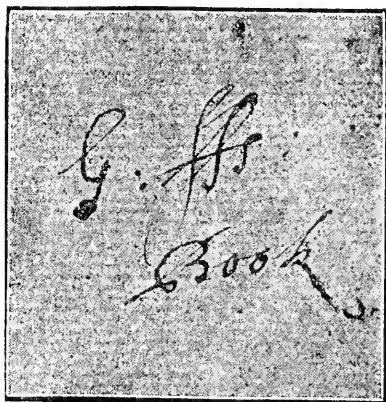
The Friends of those early times actively engaged in the government of the colony, and experienced many difficulties in upholding their principles, and preserving peace with their neighbors and the Indians.

M. S. A.

GEORGE FOX'S DUTCH TESTAMENT.

One of the articles which attracted the most interest in the collection of exhibits at the recent meeting of "The Friends Historical Society" (Philadelphia) was a small Dutch New Testament which once belonged to George Fox. The book measures $2\frac{5}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ inches and is $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches in thickness. It is

good clear type printed in Amsterdam, 1637, and bears on one of the fly leaves this autograph of the owner.



It is said to have been the pocket companion of George Fox when he travelled in Holland with William Penn, Robert Barclay, George Keith and others in 1677—although no mention of this is found in his Journal.

That neither Fox nor his companions were familiar with the Dutch language is evident in the fact that all their conversation and preaching were through interpreters. Five persons mentioned by name were so employed, at least, two of whom, John Claus and John Roeloffs, were Friends resident in Amsterdam, one or other of whom appears to have accompanied Fox throughout his Holland journey. Fox mentions that "George Keith had much discourse with some Priests in Latin."

As Fox could not read Dutch, it has been asked by some of what use could this book have been to him. As, however, he was accustomed to quote largely from the Scriptures and especially from the New Testament, is it not highly probable that he made use of this book as a ready reference to aid his interpreter.

This Testament came from the library of the late Joseph Bevan Braithwaite, and was purchased from the executors of his estate by the present owner, Joshua L. Baily.

EXHIBITION OF ARTICLES OF HISTORIC INTEREST.

The following is a list of articles exhibited at the Sixth Annual Meeting of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia, First Month 29th, 1910:

George Fox's Pocket New Testament in Dutch.

William Penn's Manuscript Journal in Holland.

William Penn's Manuscript Journal in Ireland.

William Penn's Letter, written after the death of his wife.

William Penn's Select Works. Folio 1771.

Some of William Penn's deeds of property to early settlers.

Miniature of Admiral Penn.

Miniature of Lady Penn.

Copy of certificate recommending Letitia Penn.

Stephen Grellet's Manuscript Journal, 1810-1813. (Not published.) Loaned by Library Company of Philadelphia, Ridgway Branch.

Stephen Grellet's trunk padlock when in Russia and Spain (1815).

Sir Matthew Hale—Contemplations Moral and Divine (1475).

Nichol on Theism, 1697.

Poor Richard's Almanack, 1746, printed by Benjamin Franklin.

George Fox, John Stubbs and Benjamin Furley. The Battledoor for Professors in twenty-two languages.

Anonymous. "Hole in the Wall. 1828."

Friends' Discipline, in manuscript.

Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. Discipline in manuscript, 1704.

Deed of Edward Byllinge to Robert Welsh, 1681.

Deed of Edward Byllinge, 1682.

Pennsylvania Gazette, 1771 and 1787.

New Jersey Gazette, 1784.

List of Purchasers at Administrators' Vendue of Effects of Benjamin Lay, Abington.

Virginia Exiles. Address and Memorial, 1777.

Petition sent to United States Congress at the time of the Mexican War, 1846.

Commission from George II to Richard Wood, appointing him Judge of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for County of Cumberland, N. J. (Photograph.)

Large Arm Chair, 200 years old.

Bank Notes, Shin Plasters and Tobacco Money, Old Coins.

Coin Scales which belonged to Richard Jacobs, of Perkiomen, born 1736.

Box made of wood of Treaty Tree.

Old tin Lantern, such as described in Longfellow's poem Elizabeth [Haddon].

Water Colors, Prints and Photographs (continued).

Old State House as seen in 1776.

Interior of Arch Street Meeting, Philadelphia, 1900.

Engraving Honthorst's George Fox.

Silhouette group of Susanna Sansom and family.

Samuel Gurney, banker of London.

Daniel Wheeler.

Thomas Shillitoe.

David Barclay, grandson of the Apologist.

Joseph Hoag.

Anna Braithwaite, mother of Joseph Bevan Braithwaite.

Elias Hicks.

Marriage Certificates—Griffith Jones, 1673.

Jonathan Evans and Hannah Walton, 1740.

Thomas H. Wetherill, Jr., and Katherine Sykes, 1744.

Amos Harvey and Hannah Pusey, 1769.

John Mickle and Hannah Cooper, 1704.

Richard Willits and Abigail Bowne, daughter of John Bowne, of Flushing, Long Island, 1686.

John Brown and Ann Field, 1750.

William Wierman and Hannah Griest, 1770.

Isaac H. Wierman and Susanna Comeley, 1806.

Old Marriage Certificate Case.

John Scattergood's Ledger, 1771. Tanner in the Northern Liberties.

Thomas Scattergood's Prayer at North Meeting, copied by Martha Richards, 8 mo. 5th, 1818.

Water Colors, Prints and Photographs:—

Quaker Almshouse.

"Pitcher" Portrait of George Washington.

Home of John Woolman, Mount Holly, N. J.

Rebecca Cheeseman, a descendant of Daniel Leeds.

Scene in the interior of the Meeting House at Market and Second Streets, Philadelphia (1755-1799).

Exterior of Meeting House at Market and Second Streets, Philadelphia.

Ancient Tombs of Friends in Barbadoes, 1699-1710.

Friends' Burial Ground, Charleston, South Carolina.

Keithite Meeting House, Second Street below Arch Street, Philadelphia.

Knit Pincushion (1750).

Ancient Gold and Pearl Box.

Medal of Washington and Franklin.

Pocket Flint and Steel of Samuel Smith, Historian of New Jersey (1750).

Old Quaker Game (1750).

Pocket Ink and Quill Pen Case of Richard S. Smith, who died 1796.

Silver and Glass Sleeve Links which belonged to Sarah (Ballinger) Brown (1756-1835).

Silver Knee-buckle of William Smedley (1765-1839).

Silver Tea Pot (1763-4) of Hannah Cooper W.

Silver Spoons of Elizabeth Story, Mary (Paxson) Richardson, Elizabeth (Dobson) Pearsall and Thomas and Elizabeth Pearsall.

Silver Nutmeg Grater of John Fothergill, M.D.

Silver Spoon of Daniel Leeds, of New Jersey.

Pewter Plate of Colonel Adam and Mary (Evans) Hubley (1776).

Copper Tea Kettle brought from England by Nathaniel Allen, to Philadelphia (1681).

Large Punch Bowl.

Richard Jordan Plate.

Pewter Porringer and Plates used at Westtown Boarding School.

Large Spoon brought by a missionary from Africa.

Pewter Plate from William Penn's Manor House.

Small Map of the Hemispheres drawn by hand previous to 1827.

Silk Globe of the World, made at Westtown Boarding School.

Samplers, in variety (1732, 1763, 1806, 1827).

Needlecases embroidered (1756-1835).

Hand Bag from Paris (1825).

Velvet Bag used at Weddings in the Burr Family.

Infant's Dress and Cap, 1759.

Fire Screen.

Old-fashioned Dress and Shawl, Fan and Handkerchief.

Old-fashioned Cape.

Old-fashioned Pockets worn by women.

Doll dressed to represent Mary England, a contemporary of Rebecca Jones.

Beaver Hat and Umbrella of seventy-five years ago, used by Philadelphians.

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